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THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

104739

IN WHICH MUCH OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS IS UNFOLDED FROM A THEORY WHICH HAS BEEN FOR MANY AGES UNKNOWN.

ILLUSTRATED

WITH MAPS AND VIEWS.

A NEW EDITION

WITH CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Victa jacet PIETAS.——
OVID.

LONDON:

RICHARD PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN.

MDCCCXXIV.

00104739

PREFACE.

PAUSANIAS the Cæsarean seems, says Fabricius*, to be the same with that Pausanias who is called by Galen† the Syrian sophist; who, according to Philostratus‡, was a hearer of the Attic Herodes; and who had for his disciples Ælian§, and the sophist Aspasius‖. That this Pausanias was the author of the ensuing work, is judiciously conjectured, too, by Fabricius, as it does not appear that there is any other person of the same name mentioned by ancient writers, to whom it can be so properly ascribed. Fabricius farther observes, that as Pausanias affirms in his Prior Eliacs, that he composed this Description of Greece in the year after the restoration of Corinth, it follows, that he must have lived in the fourteenth year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and in the year of Christ 174. But at that period it

* Biblioth. Græc. tom. 3.
† III. 14. De locis affectis.
‡ 2. de Sophist. p. 590.
§ Philostr. p. 619.
‖ Suid. in Ασπασ.

is probable, says the same critic, that he was advanced in years, and had prior to this flourished under Antoninus Pius, because he mentions the emperor Adrian as reigning in his time.

Our Pausanias travelled not only through Greece, Macedonia, and Italy, but likewise through the greatest part of Asia, as far as to the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. He says, too, of himself, that he visited Palestine, and that he saw Jordan and the Dead Sea. But though he was a prompt and ingenious declaimer, yet he was a bad rhetorician, which it seems was generally the case with the Cappadocians; and hence it is asserted in a Greek epigram*, that it is easier to find a white crow, or a winged tortoise, than a good Cappadocian rhetorician. He was the author of several works besides the present, of which the reader may see a catalogue in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, and the loss of which must be greatly regretted by every artist, philologist, and historian.

As to the ensuing work, it ever has, and doubtless ever will be considered as an invaluable treasure of Grecian history and antiquities: for Pausanias, with the most consummate accuracy and diligence, has given an account of the temples and remarkable buildings, the statues and festivals, the games and sacred offerings, the mutations of empires, and the illustrious transactions of kings

* Antholog. lib. 2. p. 250.

in every part of Greece. He has besides given a concise history of some of the most eminent warriors, and related some of the most interesting battles of former times. As he was a man pious, too, though not in conjunction with philosophy, he every where discovers a mind impressed with a sense of the highest duties, and shows himself to be one, to whom, in the language of the emperor Julian*, "it appeared more proper to give credit to cities in certain historical particulars, than to the *vehemently wise*, whose *little* soul is indeed acute, but beholds nothing with a vision healthy and sound." Hence, he is careful in noticing the punishment with which impiety is frequently attended in the present life, and the remarkable manner in which oracular predictions have been verified. In this last particular, indeed, his book may be considered as a treasure of popular evidence for the truth of his religion. For, if it be but once admitted that such oracles were given, and that such events afterwards happened as are here related, to which those oracles referred, it is impossible that such a regular series of predictions should in so many instances have been accomplished by any casual concurrence of circumstances, or any tricks of fraudulent priests. In short, the philosopher and the historian, the

* See page 127 of my translation of Julian's Orations to the Sun, and the Mother of the Gods.

critic and the naturalist, the poet and the painter, the statuary and the architect, the geographer and the antiquary, may find in this work an ample fund of solid instruction and refined amusement: for Pausanias had the art of aptly uniting conciseness with accuracy, and the marvellous of venerable traditions and mystic fables with all the simplicity of unadorned description.

Yet notwithstanding these excellencies, his language is inelegant through its abruptness, and intricate through the peculiarity of construction with which it abounds. Indeed, the obscurity of his diction is so great, that he may perhaps be considered as the most difficult author to translate of any in the Greek tongue; for his meaning is frequently on this account inaccessible to the most consummate verbalists, and can only be penetrated by one who is in the habit of understanding words by things, as well as things by words*.

The translator of such an author into any *modern* language may certainly expect that his translation, if faithful upon the whole, will be treated with lenity by every class of readers except venal

* Plutarch, in his Life of Demosthenes, observes, that what happened to him with respect to his knowledge of Latin, may seem strange though it be true: "for (says he) it was not so much by the knowledge of words that I came to the understanding of things, as through experience in things I attained to the signification of words."

critics, who censure or praise a work according to the taste of the age, and not according to its intrinsic merit; and who endeavour to crush the slow-rising fame of unprotected genius, with the same savage unconcern that a ruffian stabs the benighted traveller in some lonely path. As I have therefore endeavoured to give the sense of Pausanias with the utmost fidelity of which I am capable, and with as much elegance as his work can be reasonably supposed to demand in a translation, I solicit, and make no doubt of obtaining, forgiveness from the candid reader, for such errors as may be naturally supposed to attend the completion of so arduous an undertaking.

I may add, that I have a still farther claim to lenity from the liberal reader, as I have been under the necessity of composing the whole of this work in the space of ten months; and those who know any thing of literary labour must be fully convinced, that to accomplish this, without committing some trivial errors at least, demands a vigilance which no weariness can surprise into negligence, a perseverance which no obstacles can retard, an ardour which no toils can for a moment abate.

In short, whatever may be the defects of my translation, and whatever may be its destiny with the public, I can assure the reader, that it is not made from the Latin, French, Italian, or indeed any language but the Greek. That it is not from

the Latin, any one but a malevolent critic may be easily convinced by comparing it with the Greek; and that it is not from any living language is no less certain; for (as those who are acquainted with me well know) I neither understand, nor desire to understand, any modern tongue but the English, being fully convinced, that nothing so much debilitates the true vigour of the understanding as an excessive study of words. Of the truth of this observation our countryman Bentley, who certainly was one of the most eminent verbal critics that ever lived, and who is on this account called by Fabricius *Lumen Angliæ, the Light of England,* is an egregious proof. For his pretended emendations of Milton bear the strongest marks of a mind enervated by intense application to words; of a mind which had been so long in the habit of substituting one word for another, as to think at last, that the most becoming were alike defective with the most improper expressions; and, in short, of a mind which was equally insensible to the graces and the fire of poetry, to elevated conceptions and magnificent diction, to all the delicacies of taste and all the brilliancies of wit. The utmost, therefore, that can be said of his pretended emendations is, that they are *different readings!* Kuhnius, too, the editor of Pausanias, is another striking instance of the truth of my assertion: for in a note to page 419 of his edition of Pausanias, after having corrected one part of a corrupt pass-

age in the original respecting a chest, he leaves the other no less faulty part uncorrected, and gives a translation of it which contains one of the grossest blunders that ever any author committed, For his version is this: *Ex eburneis vero animalculis quæ super arca sunt, alia ex auro, alia æque ac arca ex cedro composita.* That is, "Of the IVORY little animals which are upon the chest, some are of GOLD, but others, as well as the chest, are made of CEDAR.*"

With respect to the notes, my principal design in composing them, was to prevent the knowledge of the ancient theology from being entirely lost; and to accomplish this, I have unfolded in them a theory which seems for many ages to have been entirely unknown. It is true, indeed, that the authors from whom the theological and mythological information which the notes contain is derived, *i. e.* the latter Platonists, are considered by verbal critics, and sophistical priests, as fanatics, and corrupters of their master's doctrine. But whatever weight the opinion of men of this de-

* The original of this passage is as follows: Ζωδια δε ελεφανίος επ' αυλης, τα δε χρυσου, τα δε και εξ αυλης εστιν ειργασμενα της κεδρου. Here if ζωδια δε ελεφανίος επ' αυλης is corrected into ζωδια δε επ' αυλης, τα μεν ελεφανίος, we shall have the obvious meaning of Pausanias, and the translation will run thus: 'Of the animals on the chest, some are of ivory, others are of gold, and others, as well as the chest, are made of cedar.' For had Pausanias committed the same blunder as Kuhnius, he would have said τα μεν χρυσου, and not τα δε χρυσου.

scription may have with the vulgar, the discerning and liberal reader well knows that the former of these never read a book, but in order to make different readings of the words in it, and that the latter wilfully pervert the meaning in some places, and ignorantly in others, of every valuable author whether ancient or modern. Let the liberal reader, too, consider, that the latter Platonists had most probably a traditional knowledge of some leading parts of their philosophy; that they had books to consult which are now lost; and that they are acknowledged to have been men of great genius and profound erudition, even by those who read without thinking, and by those who read but to censure and pervert.

As my intention, therefore, in the notes, was to unfold and propagate the wisdom of the ancients with all the ability I was capable of exerting, and in as copious a manner as opportunity and the size of the work would permit, I have been sparing in philological and historical information: yet, notwithstanding this, I have given a large, and I presume, a satisfactory account of the perpetual lamps of the ancients; a curious history of human bones of prodigious magnitude which have been discovered, from Phlegon Trallianus; and have from ancient authorities explained two or three passages in the Iliad, which have been misunderstood by all the modern commentators and translators of that incomparable work. To the reader

who is not satisfied with this, I shall only observe, that it is neither safe nor honourable to descend from philosophy to philology; and that it would be as absurd to expect that the man who has given himself up to the embraces of the former, should associate much with the latter, as that the eye which has often beheld with rapture the costly rooms of some magnificent palace, should frequently delight to view the narrowest and the least conspicuous of its avenues.

Of the Oracles, of which there are many in this work, I have given a prose translation, because I consider them as invaluable pieces of composition, in the translation of which every word ought as much as possible to be preserved, from the obscure and profound meaning with which every word is pregnant. That this is impossible to be effected by a poetical version into any modern language, every one who has the least knowledge of the Greek tongue must be fully convinced. Most of the epigrams and citations from poets, I have translated into verse; and the few that the reader will find with a prose translation, were such as I found too difficult to translate poetically, in the short space of time allotted me for the completion of this arduous work.

Some fashionable readers will, I doubt not, think that my translation abounds too much with connective particles. To such I shall only observe, that beauty in every composite consists in

the apt connexion of its parts with each other, and is consequently greater where the connexion is more profound. It is on this account that the sound of the voice in singing is more pleasing than in discourse, because in the former it is more connected than in the latter; that a palace is more beautiful than a rude heap of stones; a kingdom than a democracy; and, in short, whatever is orderly and regular, than whatever is disordered and confused. In the present age, indeed, it cannot be an object of wonder, that books are composed with scarcely any connective particles, when men of all ranks are seized with the mania of lawless freedom, bear indignantly all restraint, and are endeavouring to introduce the most dire disorder, by subverting subordination, and thus destroying the bond by which alone the parts of society can be peaceably held together. Of the truth of this observation the French at present are a remarkable example, among whom a contempt of orderly connexion has produced nothing but anarchy and uproar, licentious liberty and barbaric rage, all the darkness of atheism, and all the madness of democratic power.

To the pedantic reader, who will doubtless be disgusted at my using every where in this translation Delphos for Delphi, I shall only observe, that if he does not think the authority of such men as Sir William Temple, Dryden, Waller, and Swift, sufficient to prove that Delphos, in the

singular number, is good English, though it is, neither good Latin nor good Greek, he has my free consent to make an erratum of it, and substitute Delphi in its stead; though I shall always consider it more safe and honourable to follow the example of men of wit and genius, than to abide by the pert decisions of grammatical triflers.

To critics in general I shall make a declaration similar to that which I have elsewhere given, that I shall pay no attention whatever to criticisms that are merely the result of ignorance; but if I find them attended with malevolence, I shall not fail to expose the baseness of such species of composition, in a copious appendix to my next publication: and would every author whose labours have been infamously abused adopt this plan, he would either by intimidating such literary bullies secure himself from their attacks in future, or render them the scorn and derision of every man of discernment and worth.

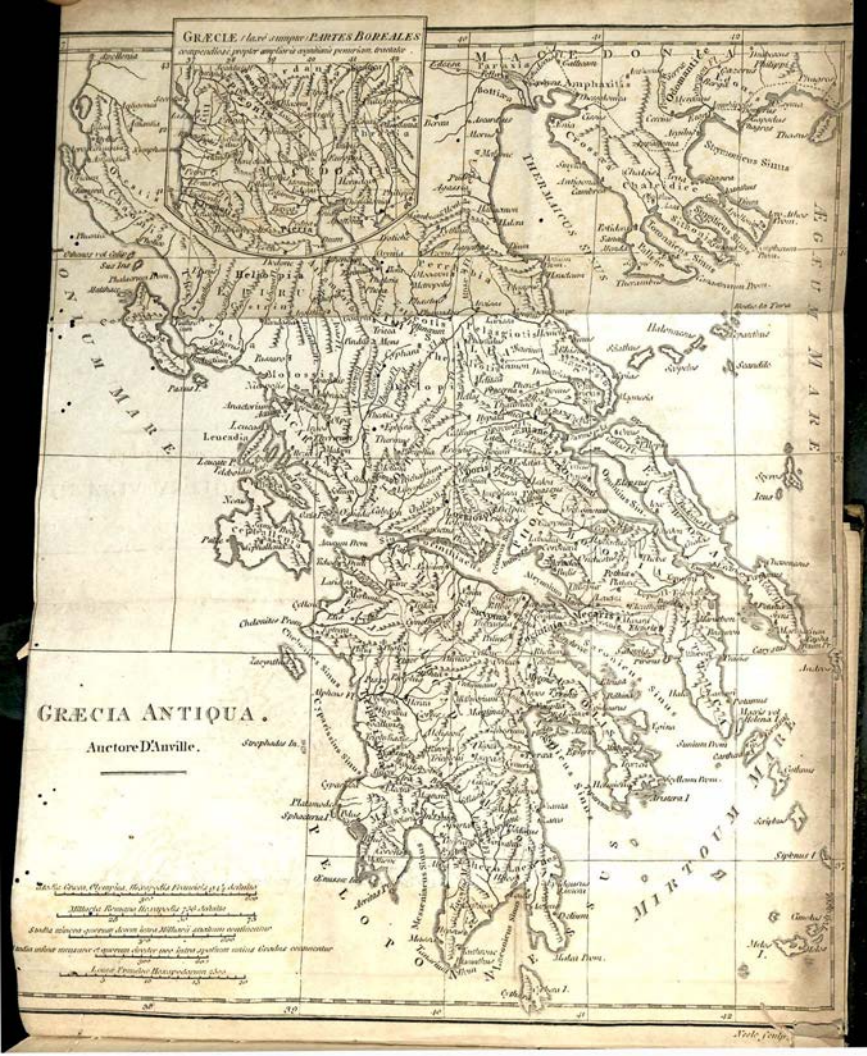
ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

No alterations have been made in the translation, as the whole of it was printed before I was informed that a second edition of this work was in the press. But as, at the time when I received this information, the Notes at the end of the work were not reprinted, I availed myself of the opportunity which then offered, of making an important addition to them from ancient sources. As my principal object, therefore, in writing these Notes was to elucidate the mythology of the Greeks, which is so frequently alluded to by Pausanias in this work, I trust the reader will here find that I have collected a treasury of mythological information, from writings which, though at present but little known, will swim over the vast extent of ages with augmented renown.

ORBIS
VETERIBUS NOTUS.
Auctore D'Anville.
SINÆ.
ATLANTICUM MARE
AFRICA
LIBYA
ÆTHIOPIA INTERIOR
ERYTHRÆUM MARE
MARE PROPINQUUM
MARE PRASODES


GRÆCIE tabæ sumptus PARTES BOREALES
accuratissimè juxtà amplissima exemplaria emendatæ
GRÆCIA ANTIQUA.
Auctore D'Anville.
MACEDONIA
THRACIA
EPIRUS
Helicon
Parnassus
Pindus
Olympus
Amphaxitis
Chalcidice
Thessalia
Peloponnesus
Corinthus
Athenæ
Sparta
Argos
Messenia
Laconia
Arcadia
Achaia
Elis
Ionium Mare
Ægeum Mare
Creticum Mare
Mare Mirtoum
Sinus Corinthiacus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Laconicus
Sinus Messenicus
Sinus Thermaicus
Sinus Strymonicus
Sinus Singiticus
Sinus Toronaicus
Sinus Torronaicus
Sinus Pallenæus
Sinus Melas
Sinus Pagasæus
Sinus Maliacus
Sinus Crissæus
Sinus Ambracius
Sinus Actius
Sinus Cyparissius
Sinus Asinæus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Saronicus
Sinus Euripus
Sinus Atticus
Sinus Thermaicus
Sinus Strymonicus
Sinus Singiticus
Sinus Toronaicus
Sinus Torronaicus
Sinus Pallenæus
Sinus Melas
Sinus Pagasæus
Sinus Maliacus
Sinus Crissæus
Sinus Ambracius
Sinus Actius
Sinus Cyparissius
Sinus Asinæus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Saronicus
Sinus Euripus
Sinus Atticus

THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE.

BOOK I.

ATTICS.

CHAPTER I.

IN that part of the Grecian continent which is situated about the islands of the Cyclades, and the Ægean sea, the promontory Sunium raises itself from the Attic land. This promontory serves as a port to sailors; and the temple of Minerva Sunias is situated on its summit. But to one sailing to a greater distance, Laurium presents itself to the view (which formerly supplied the Athenians with silver), and a desert island of no great extent, which is called by the name of Patroclus. For one Patroclus, a commander of the Egyptian three-oared galleys, which Ptolemy the son of Lagus sent in aid of the Athenians, secretly landing on this island, enclosed it with a wall, and drew a trench round it, at that time when Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, making an irruption into it with his army, laid waste the country, and at the same time invested it with his ships by sea. But the Piræeus was formerly a town. For before Themistocles governed the Athenians, the Piræeus was not a haven, but Phalerum, because in this part the

sea was the least distant from the city; and they say that Mnestheus sailed from thence towards Troy, and prior to him Theseus, in order to punish Minos for the death of Androgeus.

But Themistocles, when he had obtained the government of the Athenians, rendered the Piræeus a haven, because it appeared to him to be more conveniently situated for sailors, and had three ports, instead of one, which the Phalerum contains. And, indeed, even in my time, there were harbours for ships in the Piræeus; and near the greatest of the three ports the sepulchre of Themistocles is situated. For they say, that the Athenians repented of their conduct towards Themistocles, and that his kindred took his bones from Magnesia, and brought them to this part. The children likewise of Themistocles appear to have returned, and to have suspended a picture in the Parthenon, in which Themistocles himself is painted.

But the temples of Minerva and Jupiter, together with the brazen statues of these divinities, are the most worthy to be inspected of every thing which the Piræeus contains. And Jupiter is seen holding a sceptre, and victory, but Minerva a spear. In this place, too, Arcesilaus painted Leosthenes and his children; that Leosthenes, who, being the general of the Athenians and the other Greeks, vanquished the Macedonians in Bœotia; and afterwards in another battle drove them beyond the Thermopylæ, and enclosed them in Lamia, which is situated in a direction opposite to Oeta. There is likewise here a long porch, which serves as a market-place, for those who dwell near the sea; for there is another market-place, for such as are farther distant from the port. But in that part of the porch which is near the sea, Jupiter and the town are represented; and this was the work of Leochares. But towards the sea, Conon built the temple of Venus, after he had vanquished the three-oared galleys of the Lacedæ-

monians, near Cnidus, in Carica Chersonnesus. For the Cnidians reverence Venus above all the divinities, and have various temples sacred to this goddess. But of these temples, the more ancient is called Doris, the next to this in antiquity, Acræa; and the most recent is called, by the multitude, Cnidia, but the Cnidians themselves denominate it Euplæa.

But the Athenians have other ports besides these; one in Munychia, and this contains the temple of Munychian Diana; but another in Phalerum (as I before observed), and together with this, the temple of Ceres. This port likewise contains the temple of Minerva Sciras, and at some distance from this, the temple of Jupiter, together with the altars of the gods called unknown, of the heroes, and of the children of Theseus and Phalerus. For the Athenians report that this Phalerus was the companion of Jason in the Colchian expedition. There is also the altar of Androgeus the son of Minos; but it is called by the name of the hero, though it is known to be the altar of Androgeus, by such as endeavour to learn the particulars of this country in a manner superior to others. About the distance of twenty stadia from hence is the promontory Colias, to which place the fragments of the ruined fleet of the Medes were driven by the storm. And here the statues of Venus Colias, and of the goddesses who are called Genetyllides, are contained. But it appears to me that these divinities which are worshipped in Colias are the same with those goddesses which the Phocensians, a people of Ionia, call the Genniades. But in the way which leads from the Phalerum to Athens the temple of Juno is situated, which has neither doors nor a roof. It is reported that this temple was burnt by Mardonius the son of Gobryas; but the statue which exists at present was (it is said) the work of Alcamenes, and this it seems was not injured by the Mede.

CHAPTER II.

But on entering into the city, the first thing which presents itself to the view is the monument of the Amazon Antiope. And this Antiope, according to Pindar, was ravished by Pirithous and Theseus. But Hegias, the Trazenian poet, relates this particular as follows: "Hercules, when he besieged Themiscyra near the river Thermodon, was not able to accomplish his design; but Antiope falling in love with Theseus (for Theseus was the companion of Hercules in the assault), surrendered to him the town." And such is the relation of Hegias. But the Athenians relate, that when the Amazons came into the city, Antiope was slain with an arrow by Molpadia, but that Molpadia was slain by Theseus: and, indeed, the Athenians possess the sepulchre of Molpadia.

But on ascending from the Piræeus you may perceive certain ruins of walls, which Conon after the naval battle at Cnidus restored. For those walls which Themistocles raised after the expulsion of the Medes were thrown down during the dominion of the thirty tyrants. But along this way the tombs of the most noted men are seen; such as of Menander the son of Diopithes, and the empty sepulchre of Euripides. For Euripides was buried in Macedonia, to which place he travelled in order to see king Archelaus. But as to the manner of his death, the general report concerning it may be admitted as true. And poets, indeed, as it appears, have lived with kings. For prior to Euripides, Anacreon was the familiar of Polycrates the Samian tyrant; Æschylus and Simonides betook themselves to Hiero of Syracuse; Philoxenus associated with Dionysius, who afterwards tyrannized in Sicylia; and Antagoras the

Rhodian, and Aratus Solensis, were the familiars of Antigonus, king of the Macedonians. But as to Hesiod and Homer, they either were not fortunate enough to be the companions of kings, or else they voluntarily despised an association with them; the former, perhaps, through the rural life which he embraced, and his unwillingness to travel; but Homer, who had travelled to a prodigious distance, considered the advantage which he might derive from the riches of potentates as far inferior to general renown. Though even Homer, in his poems, represents Demodocus as the familiar of Alcinous; and relates, that Agamemnon left a certain poet with his wife.

But not far from the gates there is a tomb, on which a soldier is placed standing by a horse. Who the soldier is, I know not; but Praxiteles made both the soldier and the horse. But on entering into the city, there is an edifice raised for the sake of those processions which take place, sometimes once a year, and at others in uncertain periods of time. Near to this, is the temple of Ceres, in which the statue of the goddess herself, of her daughter Proserpine, and of Iacchus holding a torch, are contained. But it is signified on the wall, in Attic letters, that all these are the works of Praxiteles. Not far from this temple is the statue of Neptune, hurling his spear at the giant Polybotes, to whom the fable subsisting among the Cœans, about the promontory of Chelon, or a tortoise, pertains. But the inscription which exists at present refers the image to some other person, and not to Neptune. There are porches too, which reach from the gates to the Ceramicus; and before these porches there are brazen images both of men and women, by whom something great had been achieved, and who are rendered illustrious by renown. But one of these porches contains little temples of the gods, and that which is called the gymnasium of Mercury. It likewise contains the house of Polytion, in

which certain of the Athenians, and these by no means the most ignoble, are said to have been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. But at present this house is dedicated to Bacchus: and this Bacchus they call Melpomenos, for the same reason as they denominate Apollo Musegetes.

In this place too are to be seen the statues of Pæonian Minerva, of Jupiter, Mnemosyne, and the Muses; and likewise the offering sacred to Apollo, which was both dedicated and made by Eubulis; and lastly Acratus, one of the dæmons attending upon Bacchus, whose face alone projects from the wall. But after the temple of Bacchus, there is an edifice containing statues made from clay, and among these Amphictyon, king of the Athenians, is to be seen receiving both the other divinities and Bacchus at a banquet. In the same place, there is likewise the Eleutherensian Pegasus, who first introduced Bacchus to the Athenians, being assisted by the Delphic oracle, which caused him to remember the prediction, that the advent of Bacchus would take place in the times of Icarius. And after this manner was the kingdom obtained by Amphictyon. But it is reported that Actæus first reigned in that place which is now called Attica. On the death of Actæus, Cecrops succeeded to the government, and married the daughter of Actæus, by whom he had three daughters, Erse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus, and a son, Erysichthon, who did not reign over the Athenians, because he died while his father was alive; and hence, on the death of Cecrops, Cranaus, who was the richest and most powerful of the Athenians, obtained the government. But they report that Cranaus had other daughters besides Atthis, from which last, the region which was formerly called Actæa was denominated Attica. Amphictyon, however, forcibly expelled Cranaus from the kingdom, though at the same time he had married his daughter. But he him-

self afterwards, through the machinations of Erichthonius and his associates, lost the kingdom. They report, indeed, that the father of Erichthonius was not a mortal, but that his parents were Vulcan and Earth.

CHAPTER III.

But the Ceramicus derived its name from the hero Ceramus, who is said to have been the son of Bacchus and Ariadne. In this place, that which first presents itself to the view on the right hand is a building called the royal porch, in which the king sits, who holds an annual government, which they call a kingdom. About the roof of this porch there are certain earthen statues, viz. Theseus hurling Sciron into the sea, and Aurora carrying away Cephalus, who, being a most beautiful person, is said to have been beloved and forcibly taken away by Aurora. It is likewise added, that Phaeton was the issue of this amour, and that Aurora made him the guardian of the temple. And this account of the affair is given both by others, and by Hesiod in his poem, entitled The Catalogue of Women. Near the porch, the statues of Conon and his son Timotheus are placed, together with that of Evagoras king of the Cyprians, by whose means king Artaxerxes gave the three-oared Phœnician galleys to Conon. And by a conduct of this kind, indeed, he behaved like an Athenian, and like one who derived his origin from Salamis: for his ancestors were Teucrus, and the daughter of Cinyras.

In the same place too, the statue of Jupiter, surnamed Eleutherius, is to be seen, and the statue of the emperor Adrian, who benefited both other nations, and in a most eminent degree the Athenians. But the other porch which

is raised behind this contains the pictures of those gods who are called the twelve; and at the extremity of the wall there is a picture of Theseus, together with the democracy and the town. This picture too evinces, that Theseus established a just republic for the Athenians. But a report different from this is spread among the vulgar, that Theseus assigned the administration of affairs to the people, and that the democratic government as delivered by him remained till it was overturned by the tyrannic invasion of Pisistratus. There are other false reports made by the multitude, who are destitute of historical information, and who think that every thing is true which they have heard from their childhood related by singers and tragedians. It is also asserted, that even Theseus himself reigned, and that, after the death of Mnestheus, the Thesean rulers remained to the fourth generation. But if to genealogize were my intention at present, I should enumerate those who reigned from Melanthus as far as to Clidicus, the son of Œsimidus. The same picture likewise contains the achievements of the Athenians at Mantinea, who were sent thither for the purpose of assisting the Lacedæmonians. But Xenophon and others have described all the war, the oppression of Cadmeia, the destruction of the Lacedæmonians in Leuctra, the irruption of the Bœotians into Peloponnesus, and the aid which was given by the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians. The picture too represents the battle of the knights, among which the most illustrious of the Athenians is Grillus, the son of Xenophon, and of the Bœotian knights the Theban Epaminondas. And all these were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor.

The same person likewise in a temple near to this painted Apollo, who is called Patrous. But before the temple, Calamis painted an Apollo whom they denominate Alexicacus, or a disperser of evil. According to report,

this name was given to the god, because by an answer from the Delphic oracle he caused a pestilence to cease, which raged in the time of the Peloponnesian war. The temple too of the mother of the gods, which was the work of Phidias, is to be seen in this place. And near it stands the senate-house of those who are called the five hundred, in which they deliberate every year about the affairs of the Athenians. But this senate-house contains a sculptured image of Jupiter the counsellor, and of Apollo, both which were produced by the art of Pisias; and besides these, a representation of the town, which was the work of Lyson. But the legislators were painted by Caunius Protogenes. And Olbiades, who is to be seen here, was the son of that Calippus who led the Athenians to the Thermopylæ, in order to guard Greece from the incursions of the Gauls. But the Gauls inhabit the extreme parts of Europe, where the sea is of a prodigious extent, and its boundaries are innavigable. For the swelling of its waves, the rocks with which it abounds, and the savage beasts with which it is infested, surpass all that is to be found in any other sea. The river Eridanus runs through this country, upon the banks of which the daughters of the Sun are said to have bewailed the misfortune of their brother Phaeton. It is however but lately that they were called Gauls; for formerly they called themselves, and were also denominated by others, Celtæ.

CHAPTER IV.

These people having collected an army together, betook themselves to the Ionian sea, and overturned the Illyrians, together with every nation as far as to Macedonia, and even the Macedonians themselves. Lastly, they invaded

Thessaly; and when they drew near to the Thermopylæ, most of the Greeks made no resistance to the incursions of these Barbarians, because, prior to this, they had suffered great losses from Alexander and Philip; and Antipater and Cassander afterwards had well nigh destroyed Greece; so that they considered it as by no means disgraceful, if, through imbecility, they withheld their assistance. But the Athenians, though by the length of the Macedonian war they were wearied more than the rest of the Greeks, and had sustained many losses in engagements, yet they courageously marched to the Thermopylæ, with the Grecian volunteers, choosing this Calippus for their general on this occasion.

But the Athenians occupying the narrowest of those passages which afford an entrance into Greece, prevented the ingress of the Barbarians. The Celtæ, however, discovering that passage through which Ephialtes Trachinius formerly led the Medes, and assaulting from thence the Phocensian guards, passed over the mountain Oeta, without the knowledge of the Greeks. But the Athenians in consequence of this being invested on both sides by the Barbarians, rendered themselves illustrious to the Greeks by their valiant behaviour in this engagement. But those who survived this battle had a prodigious labour to undergo with respect to their ships, on account of the mud with which the gulf Lamiacus abounds at the Thermopylæ. And this, as it appears to me, is occasioned by the hot water which runs from this part into the sea. It is difficult therefore to express with what labour, after they had received the Greeks on their decks, they were forced to sail through the mud with ships heavy with men and arms. And after this manner were the Greeks saved by the Athenians.

But the Gauls having passed through the narrow avenues of the mountain, and not esteeming the capture

of the town a matter of great consequence, were in the highest degree anxious to plunder Delphos, and seize the riches of the god. And these indeed were opposed by the Delphi, the Phocenses, and those who inhabit the cities situated about Parnassus. An army of Œtolians too was collected together for this purpose: for at that time the Œtolians were remarkable for the vigour of their youth. But, as soon as the engagement began, it is reported that thunder fell upon the Gauls, and fragments of rock torn from Parnassus; and that three armed men of a terrible appearance stood before the Barbarians. They farther add, that two of these men came from the north, viz. Hyperochus and Hæmadochus, but that the third was Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. But the Delphi, in memory of this engagement, perform funeral obsequies to Pyrrhus, whose sepulchre prior to this was wholly neglected by them, on account of his having been their enemy. After this, a great part of the Gauls passed over to Asia in their ships, and depopulated its maritime part. But some time after the inhabitants of Pergamus, who possessed that country which was formerly called Teuthrania, drove the Gauls from the sea; and they taking possession of Ancyra, a Phrygian town, seated themselves beyond the river Sangar. This city was built by Midas, the son of Gordius; and in my time an anchor was to be seen in the temple of Jupiter, which Midas discovered, and a fountain which bears the name of Midas. They report that Midas poured wine into this fountain, for the purpose of taking Silenus.

This Ancyra, therefore, was taken by the Gauls; and not only this, but likewise Pesinuntes, which lies under the mountain Agdistis, and where Attis is reported to be buried. The Pergamenians yet retain the spoils of the Gauls, and pictures of their transactions with them. But the land which is inhabited by the Pergamenians is said to be sacred to the Cabiri. They consider themselves,

however, as belonging to the Arcadians, which passed over with Telephus into Asia. But the report of their other wars (if they ever engaged in any other) has not been spread among all nations. They accomplished, however, three illustrious undertakings; viz. the possession of the empire of lower Asia; the expulsion of the Gauls from the place which they had before occupied; and daring, with Telephus for their leader, to engage with the forces of Agamemnon, when the Greeks, through ignorance of the country, wandering from Ilium, attempted to plunder the Mysonian plains, as if they had been Trojan land. But to return from this digression.

CHAPTER V.

Near the senate-house of the five hundred there is a place called Tholus, where the Prytanes sacrifice, and which contains certain silver statues, but of no great magnitude. Above these there are the statues of those heroes from whom the Athenian tribes were afterwards denominated. But it is related by Herodotus who it was that substituted ten tribes instead of four, and gave them new names instead of the old. But of the surnames (for so they are called by them) one is Hippothoon, the son of Neptune and of Alope the daughter of Cercyon; but another is Antiochus, one of the sons of Hercules from Meda the daughter of Phylas; and the third is Ajax, the son of Telamon. But from among the Athenians, Leo, who is reported, in compliance with the oracle, to have devoted her daughters for the public safety. Erectheus likewise has a place among the surnames, who vanquished the Eleusinians in battle, and slew their general Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus. Besides these, there are Ægeus,

and Oeneus the bastard son of Pandion; and of the children of Theseus, Acamas. Likewise Cecrops and Pandion (for I saw the statues of these among the surnames); but I am ignorant which of these is honoured by them. For a more ancient Cecrops reigned, who married the daughter of Actæus; and a latter Cecrops, who went into Eubœa, and who was the son of Erechtheus, the grandson of Pandion, and the great-grandson of Erichthonius.

Likewise Pandion the son of Erichthonius reigned, and another who was the son of the latter Cecrops, and who being driven from the kingdom by the Metionidæ, and flying to Megara (for he had married Pyla, the daughter of the Magarensian king), was there deprived of his life through disease: and his monument is to be seen near the sea, in that part of Megara which is called the rock of Minerva Æthyia*. But his sons, being again ejected by the Metionidæ, returned from Megara to Athens. And among these, the elder Ægeus obtained the kingdom. But Pandion did not educate his daughters with a prosperous fortune, nor did he leave behind him any sons who might revenge the injuries which he had received; though, for the sake of strengthening his power, he entered into alliance with the Thracian king. *But it is impossible for man to avoid that destiny which is assigned to him by divinity.* For when Tereus, who had married Procne, ravished Philomela, in contempt of the Grecian laws, and, not content with this, slew her afterwards with his sword, he provoked the very women to inflict on him the punishment of his guilt.

But there is another statue of Pandion in the tower, which deserves to be inspected. And these indeed are those ancient men from whom the Athenians denominated

* A coot, or sea-mew.

their tribes. There are others also much more recent than these: viz. Attalus Mysus and Egyptian Ptolemy, and of my time the emperor Adrian, who is a most religious cultivator of divinity, and who confers the greatest felicity on his subjects. This emperor never undertakes a war willingly; and has alone revenged the revolt of the Hebrews, who dwell above Syrus. But such temples of the gods as he has either raised or adorned with offerings and necessary apparatus, what gifts likewise he has freely bestowed on the Grecian cities, and has granted to the solicitations of the Barbarians;—all these are committed to writing at Athens, in the common temple of the gods.

CHAPTER VI.

But with respect to the actions of Attalus and Ptolemy, the memory of these has in a great part perished through antiquity, and partly by their negligence who lived with these kings, for the purpose of transmitting to posterity a written account of their transactions. On this account I consider it as belonging to my province to relate what deeds they accomplished, and how the Mysian and Egyptian kingdoms, and the command of the neighbouring nations, were obtained by their ancestors. The Macedonians then believe that Ptolemy is in reality the son of Philip Amyntas, but they fictitiously assert that he is the son of Lagus: for they report that his mother when with child of him was given by Philip in marriage to Lagus. But they say that Ptolemy performed other splendid actions in Asia, and that he assisted Alexander when in danger among the Oxydracæ, more than all his other royal allies. And on the death of Alexander, he vigorously resisted those who attempted to give the whole of his

dominions to Aridæus, the son of Philip; and was the cause of the nations being divided into separate governments. But Philip departing into Egypt slew Cleomenes, to whom Alexander had given the government of Egypt; and this because he was intimate with Perdiccas, and therefore could not be trusted. Besides this, he persuaded those Macedonians who were ordered to carry the dead body of Alexander to Ægа to deliver it to him; and when he had received it he buried it at Memphis, agreeable to the Macedonian rites. After this, not doubting but Perdiccas would make war upon him, he strengthened Egypt with a guard. But Perdiccas, for the purpose of adorning his army (according to appearance), brought with him Aridæus the son of Philip, and the boy Alexander, who was the offspring of Alexander by Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes; but his real intention was to attempt by this means to deprive Ptolemy of the kingdom of Egypt. He was however himself expelled from Egypt, and besides this was not admired for his warlike abilities so much as he had formerly been; and lastly, being prior to this greatly envied by the Macedonians, he was killed by his own body-guards.

But the death of Perdiccas immediately excited Ptolemy to political measures. In consequence of which he took Syria and Phœnice; and afterwards received into his confidence Seleucus the son of Antiochus, who was ejected by Antigonus, and who fled to him for refuge. Besides this, he prepared to take vengeance on Antigonus, and Cassander the son of Antipater; and persuaded Lysimachus, who governed in Thrace, to become his associate in the war, as he had acquainted him with the flight of Seleucus, and had admonished him that the power of Antigonus, if it received any further increase, would be the object of universal dread. In the mean time Antigonus prepared for the war; though he was not bold enough to

venture an engagement till he heard that Ptolemy, through the revolt of the Cyrenæans, had marched into Lybia; for then he presently subjected the Syrians and Phœnicians to his dominion; and giving them his son Demetrius for a governor, who was indeed nothing more than a youth, but a youth of a promising disposition, he descended to the Hellespont. But before he had passed over it, he again led back his army, on hearing that Demetrius was vanquished in battle by Ptolemy. Demetrius, however, did not entirely yield up the country to Ptolemy, and destroyed no very considerable band of Egyptians by his stratagems. But then Ptolemy, supposing that Antigonus would approach without delay, withdrew himself into Egypt.

After this, in consequence of a storm, Demetrius, sailing to Cyprus, first of all vanquished Menelaus the commander of Ptolemy's fleet, in a naval battle, and afterwards Ptolemy himself, who was advancing to engage him. And on Ptolemy's flying into Egypt, Antigonus assaulted him by land, and Demetrius by sea. But Ptolemy, who was now arrived at the extremity of danger, that he might preserve his kingdom, placed a guard at Pelusium, and brought his three-oared galleys from the river to bear upon the enemy. And Antigonus, indeed, through his want of present supplies, laid aside all hope of taking Egypt; but at the same time sent Demetrius with a great army and many ships against the Rhodians, as one who hoped that by taking the island he should possess a very convenient fortification against the attacks of the Egyptians. But the Rhodians through their military prowess and machines vigorously resisted the enemy, and Ptolemy at the same time assaulted them with all his force.

Antigonus, who had thus attacked Rhodes without success, and prior to this Egypt, shortly after dared to marcl his army against Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus.

though he lost a great part of his army in the attempt; and died, wearied principally with the length of the war against Eumenes. But of all the kings that opposed Antigonus I consider Cassander as the most impious, who, though the kingdom of Macedonia was preserved for him through Antigonus, yet engaged in war against a man by whom he had received such a singular benefit. However, on the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy again took Syria and Cyprus, and brought back Pyrrhus into the Thesprotian Epirus. And Cyrene having revolted from him, he retook it in the fifth year of its revolt, through Magas the son of Berenice, who was at that time his wife.

But if this Ptolemy was in reality the son of Philip Amyntas, it may easily be believed that his intemperate love of women, which even proceeded to a degree of insanity, was derived from his father. For after he had married Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, and had several children by her, he fell in love with Berenice, whom Antipater sent into Egypt as the companion of Eurydice; and by this woman also he had children as the fruits of his love. But when he was near his end, he left the kingdom of Egypt to his son Ptolemy, from whom one tribe of the Athenians is derived, and who was the offspring of Berenice, and not of the daughter of Antipater.

CHAPTER VII.

This Ptolemy likewise, falling in love with Arsinoe, who was his sister on both sides, married her; by no means, indeed, acting in this respect agreeable to the Macedonian laws, but to the Egyptians whom he governed. But he slew his younger brother Argæus, in consequence, as it is said, of his employing stratagems against him. The same

Ptolemy likewise took the dead body of Alexander from Memphis, and slew another brother, the offspring of Eurydice, perceiving that he incited the Cyprians to revolt. But Magas, the brother of Ptolemy by the same mother, but whose father was Philip (not the Macedonian, but a man unknown, and from among the common people), was thought by his mother Berenice worthy to govern the Cyrenæans. This Magas, causing the Cyrenæans to revolt from Ptolemy, marched his army into Egypt. Ptolemy, however, having guarded his dominions against the incursions of the enemy, waited the approach of the Cyrenæans. But when the revolt of the Marmaridæ, who are of the Lybian Nomades, was told to Magas during his march, he led his army back to Cyrene. Ptolemy, however, attempted to pursue him, but was hindered on the following account. When he prepared to sustain the attacks of Magas, he led on his mercenary troops and about four thousand Gauls; but understanding that these soldiers were forming stratagems to besiege Egypt, he brought them through the Nile to a desert island, where they all perished, slaughtered by each other, and consumed by famine.

But Magas, having married Apamen, the daughter of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to violate the league which his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy, and to invade Egypt. Antiochus, in consequence of this, beginning to draw out his army, Ptolemy sent troops into all the parts which were subject to Antiochus; and this in such a manner that the more imbecil might, like robbers, lay waste the land by their excursions, and that the more powerful might vanquish them in battle. And this conduct indeed was attended with such success, that it prevented Antiochus from leading his army into Egypt. This is that Ptolemy, who, as I have before observed, sent an auxiliary fleet to the

Athenians, against Antigonus and the Macedonians; but in reality nothing of any great consequence was accomplished by him conducive to the safety of the Athenians. He had likewise sons from Arsinoe, not she who was his sister, but an Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus; for his sister Arsinoe, whom he had married, died prior to her delivery; and a province of Egypt receives from her the appellation of Arsinoites.

CHAPTER VIII.

But our discourse requires that we should relate the circumstances pertaining to Attalus, since he is one of the causes of the surnames to the Athenians. There was a Macedonian of the name of Docimus, one of the commanders of Antigonus, who afterwards delivered both himself and his possessions into the hands of Lysimachus, and who had an eunuch whose name was Philetarus Paphlagones. But such particulars as were transacted by this Philetarus when he deserted Lysimachus, and how he drew Seleucus over to his party, it is necessary I should insert in my account of Lysimachus. This Attalus, then, was the son of that Attalus who was the brother of Philetarus, and who possessed that kingdom which was delivered to him by his cousin Eumenes. But the greatest of his exploits consisted in compelling the Gauls to fly from the sea, and take refuge in that land which they now inhabit.

But after the images of the surnames the statues of the gods are to be seen, Amphiaraus and Peace carrying the boy Pluto. In the same place, too, there is a brazen statue of Lycurgus the son of Lycophron, and a statue of Callias, who, according to the common report of the Athenians,

made a peace for the Grecians with Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes. There is likewise a statue of Demosthenes, whom the Athenians banished into the island Calaureas, near Troezen; but afterwards recalling him, they again banished him after the slaughter at Lamia; and Demosthenes, returning to the same island, destroyed himself by drinking poison. Of all the Grecian exiles, he alone could not be drawn over by Archias to Antipater and the Macedonians. The native country of this Archias was Thurius; and he engaged in a very impious employment. For he led all those captive to Antipater in order to be punished, who, prior to the slaughter which the Greeks received in Thessaly, were adverse to the Macedonians. Demosthenes, therefore, possessed too much benevolence for the Athenians: and it appears to me to have been well said, "that a man who applies himself without parsimony to the government of a republic, and credits the assertions of the people, will never end his days with felicity."

Near the statue of Demosthenes is the temple of Mars, in which, besides the statue of Mars, there are two statues of Venus. That of Mars is the work of Alcamenes; but that of Minerva was made by a Parian man of the name of Locrus. In the same place there is a statue of Bellona, the work of the sons of Praxiteles. But about the temple Hercules and Theseus stand, and Apollo, whose hair is bound with a fillet. But the statues of the men are Calades, who is said by the Athenians to have written laws, and Pindar, who deserves other rewards from the Athenians as well as a statue, because he has celebrated them in verse. Not far from these are the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton who slew Hipparchus; the reason of which action, and the manner in which it was perpetrated, are related by others.

But of these statues, some were produced by the art of

Critias, but the more ancient are the work of Antenor. But Xerxes, when he took Athens (the Athenians having deserted the city), carried away these as spoils, though Antiochus afterwards sent them back to the Athenians. In the vestibule of the theatre which they call *odeum*, or a *music-school*, the statues of the Egyptian kings are to be seen, who have all of them the name of Ptolemy, but are distinguished by different surnames. For they call one Philometer, another Philadelph; and to the son of Lagus the Rhodians have given the surname of *the Saviour*. But of the others, Philadelph is he who was mentioned by us when we related the particulars about the surnames; and near him is the statue of his sister Arsinoe.

CHAPTER IX.

But he who is called Philometer is the eighth from Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and was so called in derision; for we do not know of any king who was so hated by his mother; since, though he was the eldest of her sons, she would not suffer him to reign, and caused his father to banish him to Cyprus. Different causes are assigned of this implacable hatred of Cleopatra towards her son; and, among the rest, that she hoped by this means her youngest son Alexander would be more obedient to her desires, and on this account she attempted to create him king of Egypt; but finding the people averse to this, she sent Alexander into Cyprus, in appearance as a general; but, in reality, that through him she might become more formidable to Ptolemy.

Lastly, from among the number of her eunuchs, she exposed wounded in an assembly those which she thought were most attached to her interest, feigning that Ptolemy

had devised stratagems against her, and that the eunuchs were thus wounded by him. But the Alexandrians were so moved on this occasion, that they were ready to destroy Ptolemy; and not long after he had escaped the danger in a ship, Alexander returning from Cyprus was declared king. Cleopatra, however, was deservedly punished with death for the flight of Ptolemy, by Alexander himself, whom she had raised to the government of Egypt. But the crime being detected, and Alexander through fear flying from the people, Ptolemy returned into Egypt, again assumed the royal authority, and warred upon the Thebans, who had revolted from his command. Besides this, having reduced them under his dominion in the third year after their revolt, he so heavily fined them, that they retained no vestige of their former prosperity; though, prior to this, they surpassed in riches the most wealthy cities of Greece, the temple itself of Delphos, and the inhabitants of Orchomenus.

But Ptolemy dying soon after this, the Athenians, for the benefits which they had received through him, decreed him many honours which it is needless to mention, and erected brazen statues of him and Berenice, who was his only legitimate child. But the statues of Philip and his son Alexander are placed after the Egyptian kings, whose actions are too great to be inserted in a work undertaken with another design. To the Egyptian kings, indeed, as persons that deserved well of the public, the rewards of true honour are assigned; but nothing remains for Philip and Alexander but the flattery of the multitude. For indeed they paid the same honours to Lysimachus, though not so much from design as from the necessity of the times. This Lysimachus was a Macedonian, and was one of the officers of Alexander's guard, whom Alexander once in a fit of anger ordered to be thrown into a den with a lion; but when he found that Lysimachus had vanquished the

lion, he ever afterwards admired his fortitude, and honoured him equally with the best of the Macedonians. But on the death of Alexander, Lysimachus governed that part of Thrace which borders on Macedonia, over which Alexander, and prior to him Philip, ruled.

This part of Thrace indeed is not large, but the whole of Thrace contains such a multitude of men, that except the Gauls it is more populous than any other nation; and it is on this account that prior to the Romans no one ever conquered the whole of Thrace. But now all Thrace, and whatever bears a Gallic name, is subject to the empire of the Romans. However, they only esteem those parts of Gaul which are well cultivated, but they neglect the other parts, which are useless either through excessive cold or the barrenness of the soil. Lysimachus, therefore, obtaining the command of that part of Thrace which we have mentioned, made war first of all upon his neighbours the Odrysians, and afterwards upon the Dromichætes and Getæ. But as in warring with these he had to engage a people by no means unskilled in warlike affairs, and much superior to him in number, he saved himself by flight from the danger with which he was surrounded. In this battle his son Agathocles, who then for the first time fought in conjunction with his father, was taken by the Getæ. But Lysimachus, who in other battles afterwards was not more fortunate, and not considering the captivity of his son as a trifling matter, made peace with the Dromichætes, gave up that part of Thrace which is beyond the Ister to the Getæ, and promised his daughter in marriage; complying by this means with the necessity of the times.

It is reported by some, that it was not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself that was taken prisoner; and that he was liberated by Agathocles, through making those con-

ditions with the Getæ which we have related. But as soon as he returned, he married his son Agathocles to Lysandra the daughter of Ptolemy Lagus and Eurydice; and afterwards passed over into Asia with a fleet; and having taken the kingdom of Antigonus, built that city near the sea which the Ephesians now inhabit, and brought into it the Lebedians and Colophonians, whose cities he had taken. And the capture of these cities is lamented by Phœnix, a writer of Iambic verses. But I do not think that Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, was alive at that time; for he would certainly in some of his writings have bewailed the capture of Colophon. Lysimachus likewise made war upon Pyrrhus the son of Æacides. For observing his frequent absence from Epirus, he both laid waste the rest of the country, and came to the sepulchres of the kings of Epirus. Hieronymus Cardan adds, which I cannot believe to be true, that Lysimachus, having dug out of the earth the remains of the dead, scattered the royal bones. But Hieronymus may be supposed to have written this in consequence of his aversion to all kings except Antigonus, whom he celebrates with praises which are by no means his due. Indeed, it must be obvious to every one, that this report concerning the tombs of the kings is nothing more than a calumny. For who can believe that a Macedonian would violate the sepulchres of the kings of Epirus? To which we may add, that Lysimachus would doubtless be cautious in his conduct with respect to the dead bodies, not only of the ancestors of Pyrrhus, but of Alexander; since Alexander descended on his mother's side from Epirus, and consequently from the Æacidæ. Besides, not long after an alliance took place between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, which evinces that no implacable hatred of each other was produced by the war. But Hieronymus, perhaps, had causes of complaint against Lysimachus,

and this for the greatest, that Lysimachus, having rased the city of the Cardianians, built Lysimachia instead of it, in the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus.

CHAPTER X.

But Lysimachus, as long as Aridæus reigned, and after him Cassander and his children, remained in friendship with the Macedonians; but when Demetrius the son of Antigonus obtained the government, Lysimachus, fearing that he should be warred upon by Demetrius, thought proper to commence hostilities himself, well knowing that the desire of increasing his kingdom was hereditary to Demetrius from his father; and at the same time perceiving that he had departed into Macedonia, being called by Alexander the son of Cassander, and that finding him dead on his arrival he had taken possession of the Macedonian government, on this account he ventured to engage with Demetrius at Amphipolis, but had well nigh through this engagement lost the possession of Thrace. However, being assisted by Pyrrhus, he both retained his kingdom, and afterwards ruled over the Nestians and Macedonians. For Pyrrhus possessed a great part of Macedonia; but coming with an army from Epirus, he assisted Lysimachus for the present. But Demetrius departing into Asia against Seleucus, as long as Demetrius was formidable in war, Pyrrhus was the associate of Lysimachus in battle. But when Demetrius was taken captive by Seleucus, the friendship of Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was dissolved. Hence war being announced on both sides, Lysimachus vanquished in a great battle Antigonus the son of Demetrius, and Pyrrhus himself; took possession of the whole of Macedonia, and forced Pyrrhus to return to Epirus.

But many calamities befall men through love. For Lysimachus, now advanced in years, and being considered as fortunate with respect to his children, Agathocles likewise having children from Lysandra, notwithstanding all this, married Arsinoe the sister of Lysandra; and she fearing lest her children on the death of Lysimachus should be in the power of Agathocles, is said on this account to have formed stratagems against the life of Agathocles. It is also asserted by some, that Arsinoe fell in love with Agathocles, and that he not complying with her desires, she plotted his death. They report likewise, that Lysimachus afterwards perceived the daring wickedness of the woman; but that then he was incapable of doing any thing farther, in consequence of being deprived of all his friends. Lysimachus, therefore, having destroyed Agathocles through the persuasions of Arsinoe, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, and carried her sons and brothers with her, who, surrounded with such a calamity, took refuge with Ptolemy. But Alexander attended these in their flight to Seleucus. This Alexander was indeed the son of Lysimachus, but by his wife Odrysiades. These, when they came to Babylon, suppliantly entreated Seleucus to make war upon Lysimachus. And at the same time Philetærus, to whose care all the wealth of Lysimachus was entrusted, grievously bearing the death of Agathocles, and thinking himself on this account suspected by Arsinoe, seized upon Pergamus above Caycus, and sending an ambassador, gave both the wealth in his possession and himself up to Seleucus.

But Lysimachus being informed of all these particulars, immediately passed over into Asia, and began himself the war; but engaging with Seleucus, his army was vanquished with a great loss, and he lost his life in the battle. Lysandra having obtained his dead body with much entreaty, Alexander the son of Lysimachus by Odrysiades

carried it away, and afterwards buried it in Chersonesus. And there, even now, his sepulchre is to be seen between the street Cardia and Pactya. And such are the particulars respecting Lysimachus.

CHAPTER XI.

But at Athens there is an image of Pyrrhus, who has no other alliance with Alexander, except that of being descended from the same ancestors. For Pyrrhus was the son of Æacides Arybbas; but Alexander was the son of Olympias the daughter of Neoptolemus. And Alcetas the son of Tharypus was the father of Neoptolemus and Arybbas. But from Tharypus to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, fifteen generations intervene. For he first of all after the destruction of Troy, disdaining to return into Thessaly, drove to Epirus, and there took up his abode, in compliance with the admonition of the seer Helenus. This Pyrrhus had no children by Hermione; but by Andromache he had three sons, Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest of all. But Andromache bore to Helenus Cestrinus, Helenus having married her after the death of Pyrrhus at Delphi. But when Helenus, dying, left his kingdom to Molossus the son of Pyrrhus, Cestrinus, collecting together a band of Epirots, took possession of that region which is situated above the river Thyamis. Pergamus, however, passing into Asia, slew Arius, who ruled in Teuthrania, and who in a single contest strove with him for the possession of the empire; and besides this, he called the cities which even now remain, by his own name and that of Andromache; for Andromache followed her son, and there is yet an heroic monument of them to be seen in the city.

Pielus however remained in Epirus, to whom rather than to Molossus, Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, and his fathers, refer their origin. But the empire of Epirus remained in the possession of one king, till Alcetas and Tharypus; for the sons of Alcetas, disagreeing among themselves, did not reign with mutual concord, till they had made an equal partition of the kingdom to each other. But afterwards Alexander the son of Neoptolemus dying in Lucania, and Olympias through fear of Antipater returning to Epirus, Æacides the son of Arybbas accomplished as well other things in compliance with Olympias, as likewise assisted her with his forces in carrying on a war against Aridæus and the Macedonians; and this, though the inhabitants of Epirus were repugnant to his designs. Olympias, obtaining the victory, was guilty of great cruelty with respect to the death of Aridæus, and was still more impiously cruel towards the Macedonians; and on this account she cannot be thought to have been punished undeservedly afterwards by Cassander. Her hatred, indeed, prevented Æacides in the beginning from being received into the kingdom by the Epirots; and when he had found out the means of living in friendly terms with them for a time, Cassander again opposed his coming to Epirus. But a battle ensuing between Philip the brother of Cassander and Æacides, near Oeniadæ, Æacides died not long after of a wound which he had received in the engagement. The Epirots after this permitted Alcetas to reign, who was the son of Arybbas, and the elder brother of Æacides; a man incapable of restraining his anger, and on this account ejected by his father. Such, indeed, was his impotence with respect to curbing his rage, that he had no sooner obtained the kingdom than his fury broke out upon the Epirots, who, in consequence of this, making an insurrection in the night, slew both him and his sons.

But after Alcetas was cut off, they restored the kingdom to Pyrrhus the son of Æacides; who was no sooner in possession of the royal authority, but Cassander, a very young man, and not sufficiently instructed in the affairs of government, denounced war against him. But Pyrrhus, on the approach of the Macedonians, betook himself to Egypt, to Ptolemy the son of Lagus; and he soon after giving him his daughter in marriage, who was born of the same mother as his other children, furnished him likewise with an army and fleet, which enabled him to recover the possession of Epirus. But Pyrrhus, as soon as he was settled in his kingdom, turned his arms in the first place against the Corcyræans, perceiving that this island was situated opposite to his dominions, and not being willing that it should afford an opportunity to others of invading him. But after the capture of Corcyra, what losses he sustained in warring with Lysimachus, and how, having vanquished Demetrius, he governed the Macedonians, till he was again expelled by Lysimachus; likewise what were the greatest transactions of Pyrrhus till that time;—all these particulars we have already related in our account of Lysimachus.

But it appears that no Grecian prior to Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans. For it is not reported that either Diomed, or the Argives that followed him, ever fought against Æneas; and it is certain that the Athenians, who hoped to subdue other parts of the earth and all Italy, were hindered by the Syracusan slaughter from trying their fortune with the Romans in war. But Alexander the son of Neoptolemus, who was of the same family with Pyrrhus, and was his elder, died in Lucania before he could come to an engagement with the Romans.

CHAPTER XII.

PYRRHUS, therefore, was the first of the Grecians who marched an army beyond the Ioanian sea against them; being called upon for this purpose by the inhabitants of Tarentum. For these people having waged a long war with the Romans, and finding themselves unequal to the contest, persuaded Pyrrhus, whose friendship they had before conciliated by assisting him with naval forces against the Corcyræans, to aid them in the war. But they particularly sent the elders of Tarentum to Pyrrhus, whose business it was to inform him that Italy surpassed all Greece in felicity, and that it was not by any means just he should desert his friends, who suppliantly implored his assistance.

This information of the elders recalled to the memory of Pyrrhus the destruction of Troy, and inspired him with the hope of a prosperous event to the war; since he, who derived his origin from Achilles, would by so doing take up arms against a colony of Troy. But Pyrrhus, as soon as he had determined to war upon the Romans (for he never loitered in his undertakings), immediately fitted out long ships, and took care that globular vessels might be ready for transporting horses and soldiers. There are certain books indeed extant, composed by men of no great renown, and which are inscribed *Commentaries of Actions*. When I read these books, I especially admire the boldness of Pyrrhus in battle, and his providential care with respect to future contests; for then, before the Romans knew of his approach, he passed over with his fleet into Italy, and the Romans did not perceive he was landed, till engaging with the Tarentines, he showed him-

self with an unexpected army, and falling on them contrary to their expectations, disordered their troops, as it was reasonable to suppose must be the case. And even then, finding that his forces were unequal to the Romans, he procured elephants which might come into contact with them during the engagement. But Alexander was the first of the European princes that possessed elephants, in consequence of having conquered Porus and the Indies; though after the death of Alexander, both other kings, and especially Antigonus, possessed a great quantity of these animals. But Pyrrhus in the war with Demetrius seized a number of elephants; and these rushing into the army of the Tarentines terrified the Romans, who thought them to be something else, and not the animals which they were. For every one doubtless knows, that the ancients were well acquainted with the use of ivory; but these animals do not appear to have been seen by any but the Indians, Lybians, and the neighbouring people, till the Macedonians passed over into Asia.

But the truth of this observation seems to be evinced by Homer, who, in describing the beds of kings, and the houses of the more fortunate among these, says, that they were adorned with ivory; but never makes the least mention of the elephant: for had he ever seen this animal, it appears to me that he would much rather have mentioned it, than have related the battle of the pigmies and cranes. But after this, an embassy called Pyrrhus into the Sicily of the Syracusans. For the Carthaginians invading Sicily with a fleet, and having desolated all the Grecian cities, at last besieged Syracuse, which was the only city that remained safe. But Pyrrhus learning from ambassadors the condition of the Syracusans, left Tarentum, and all the Italian coast, and passing over into Sicily, repulsed the Barbarians, and freed Syracuse from the siege. After this, though he knew that the Carthaginians excelled all

the Barbarians in naval discipline, as being descended from the Phœnician Tyre, yet he did not hesitate to engage with them, trusting alone to the forces of the Epirots, the greatest part of whom, even after the taking of Troy, were neither acquainted with the sea, nor knew the use of salt. But the truth of this is confirmed by Homer in the Odyssey, when he speaks of a people,

"Who ne'er knew salt, or heard the billows roar."

CHAPTER XIII.

But then Pyrrhus being vanquished in a naval battle, fled to Tarentum with the remains of his army. Here he was greatly distressed, and devised the following means for his safe retreat, as he knew that he could not leave the Romans without fighting. In the first place, in consequence of being vanquished after his return from Sicily, he sent letters into Asia, and to Antigonus, from some of the kings requesting an army, and from others money, but from Antigonus entreating both. But when the ambassadors returning gave him letters in answer to those which he sent, he assembled the princes of the Epirots and Tarentines, and there read to them, not what the letters contained, but words signifying promises of assistance. A report therefore immediately spreading to the Romans, that the Macedonians and other nations were preparing to assist Pyrrhus, caused the Romans to desist from any further hostilities.

In consequence of this, Pyrrhus the following night passed over with his ships to those mountains of Epirus which are called the Ceraunii, and recovering his strength, after the loss which he had sustained in Italy, he de-

nounced war against Antigonus, accusing him on several accounts, and particularly for his negligence in not assisting him in his Italian war. In this engagement he presently vanquished the proper forces of Antigonus, and his mercenary Gauls, and drove him to the maritime cities; Pyrrhus himself, in consequence of this victory, reducing under his dominion the higher Macedon and Thessaly. But the greatness of this battle, and the victory of Pyrrhus, are particularly evinced by the arms of the Celtæ, which are suspended in the temple of Minerva Itonia, situated between Phera and Larissa, and which are dedicated with the following epigram: "Molossian Pyrrhus offers these shields to thee Itonian Minerva, as trophies seized from the bold Gauls, whose army was vanquished by Antigonus; a circumstance which is by no means wonderful, since the Æacidæ are only now what they formerly were, mighty in the concerns of war." And such is the inscription in this place. But in the temple of Dodonæan Jupiter, Pyrrhus suspended the shields of the Macedonians, with the following inscription: "Those who possessed the wealthy Asian lands, attempted to bring Greece into slavery; but now about the pillars of the temple of Jupiter the orphan shields of the boasting Macedonians are hung."

Indeed Pyrrhus had well nigh vanquished all Macedonia, and would certainly have entirely subdued it, if Cleonymus had not called him into Peloponnesus. This Cleonymus, though he was a Lacedæmonian, yet brought an army with hostile intentions into the country of the Lacedæmonians, the reason of which I shall explain, after I have related the family of Cleonymus. Pausanias, who led the Greeks to Platæa, had a son whose name was Plestoanax; and this Plestoanax was the father of a Pausanias whose son was that Cleombrotus who, fighting against Epaminondas and the Thebans, died in the Leuctrian battle. But the sons of Cleombrotus were Agesipolis

and Cleomenes; and Agesipolis dying without children, Cleomenes obtained the kingdom. This Cleomenes had two sons, the elder of which was called Acrotatus, and the younger Cleonymus. Of these Acrotatus died the first; and Cleomenes dying soon after, a contest about the kingdom arose between Areus the son of Acrotatus, and Cleonymus. And it was this contention which led Pyrrhus into that country.

The Lacedæmonians, indeed, before the Leuctrian battle, had never sustained any losses in war, and on this account they were far from supposing that they should be vanquished in a pedestrian contest. For the soldiers that followed Leonidas, did not bring assistance sufficient for the destruction of the Medes; and what the Athenians performed at Sphacteria with Demosthenes for their general, was a theft of war, rather than a victory. The first overthrow which they received was in Bœotia: the second, which was much greater than the first, was occasioned by Antipater and the Macedonians; and the third arose from the unexpected incursions of Demetrius. But perceiving that Pyrrhus was entering their borders with hostile intentions, this being the fourth army which opposed them, they prepared to meet him, associating to themselves for this purpose the Argives and Messenians. These, however, were vanquished by Pyrrhus, who at the same time had well nigh taken the city. But after he had laid waste the lands, and by this means acquired a great booty, he rested a little from any further hostilities.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians applied themselves to the care of the siege. But as Demetrius, prior to this, had invaded Sparta, the Lacedæmonians had fortified it with strong trenches, and every thing necessary to its defence. However, during this long continuance of the Laconic war, Antigonus having recovered the Macedonian cities, hastened to Peloponnesus, as he well knew that

Pyrrhus, in consequence of Lacedæmon and a great part of Peloponnesus being subdued, would not immediately return to Epirus, but would march to Macedonia, and there pursue the war. But as Antigonus prepared to lead his army from Argos into the Laconic territories, Pyrrhus himself approached to Argos. Here an engagement ensuing, Pyrrhus was victor, and even entered with the flying vanquished enemy into the city. The order of his army in consequence of this being (as is usual in such cases) dissolved, and the enemy vigorously fighting for their temples, houses, narrow avenues, and other places of the city, Pyrrhus was deserted by his troops, and received a wound in his head. It is reported that this wound was caused by a tile thrown by a woman, and that it occasioned his death. But the Argives assert, that it was not a woman that slew him, but Ceres herself, assuming for this purpose the form of the woman who was apparently the cause of his destruction. And such is the report of the Argives concerning the death of Pyrrhus, which is also confirmed by Leuceas, who described in verse the Argive affairs. But the Argives, in compliance with the oracle, have erected a temple to Ceres, in the place where Pyrrhus fell; and in this temple Pyrrhus himself is buried.

CHAPTER XIV.

It appears to me indeed a matter truly admirable, that all of the name and family of the Æacidæ have died in a manner similar to Pyrrhus. For Achilles is said, by Homer, to have been slain by Paris the son of Priam, and by Apollo. Pyrrhus the son of Achilles was cut off by the Delphi, by the command of the Pythian oracle. And our Pyrrhus, the descendant of Æacus, died in the manner

which the Argives and Leuceas relate. Hieronymus Cardan, however, differs from these in describing the manner of his death; but this is not to be wondered at, if we consider that a man who has been the associate of a king, will necessarily write in his favour. For if Philistus is to be pardoned, who, through the hope of being restored to Syracuse, concealed some of the most impious actions of Dionysius, Hieronymus deserves much greater indulgence for writing favourably of Antigonus. And such was the degree of vigour to which the power of the Epirots arrived.

But, on entering the Odeum at Athens, you will behold many things deserving notice, and among the rest a statue of Bacchus. Near this statue there is a fountain, which they call Enneacrunos, or pouring water from nine pipes, and which was adorned in this manner by Pisistratus. There are wells indeed in every part of the city, but this is the only fountain. But there are two temples above the fountain, one of Ceres and Proserpine, and in the other there is a statue of Triptolemus, the particulars of which, omitting what is reported of Deiopeia, I shall now relate.

Among the Greeks, those who principally contend with the Athenians for antiquity and gifts from the gods, are the Argives; just as among the Barbarians the Egyptians contend with the Phrygians. It is reported, therefore, that Ceres, on her arrival at Argos, was hospitably received by Pelasgus, and that she was there informed by Chrysanthis of the ravishment of her daughter. But after this the hierophant Trochilus flying from Argos through the hatred of Agenor, came to Attica, and marrying a woman of Eleusis, had two sons by her, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. And such is the narration of the Argives.

But the Athenians and neighbouring nations know that

Triptolemus was the son of Celeus, and that he was the first who introduced the plantation of corn. Musæus, however, in his verses (if these were really composed by Musæus), says, that Triptolemus was the son of Ocean and Earth. But Orpheus (though neither are these verses, in my opinion, the composition of Orpheus), that Dysaules was the father of Eubuleus and Triptolemus, and that these two learnt from Ceres the art of planting corn, because she was informed by them of the ravishment of her daughter. But Choerillus the Athenian, in a dramatic piece of his which is called Alope, writes, that Cercyon and Triptolemus were brothers from the daughters of Amphictyon, and that Rharos was the father of Triptolemus, and Neptune of Cercyon. *It was my intention, indeed, to have related every particular about the temple at Athens, which is called Eleusinian, but I was restrained from the execution of this design by a vision in a dream.* I shall, therefore, return to such particulars as it is lawful to disclose.

Before the gates of the temple, where the statue of Triptolemus is to be seen, there is a brazen ox, decorated like a victim when leading to the altar. There, too, you may see Epimenides the Gnossian sitting, who, on his arrival at this country, is reported to have fallen asleep in a cavern; and it is said that his sleep was not dissolved before the expiration of forty years. They add likewise, that he afterwards composed verses, and that he lustrated both other cities, and the city of the Athenians. But Thales, who freed Athens from a pestilence, was not in any respect allied to Epimenides, nor was his fellow-citizen; for Epimenides was a Gnossian, but Thales a Gortynian, according to the assertion of Polymnestus Colophonius, in the verses which he made upon Thales for the Lacedæmonians. Farther distant from hence is the temple of Euclea (or illustrious fame), constructed and

dedicated on account of a victory over the Medes who possessed Marathon. But I conjecture that there was no victory in which the Athenians more gloried, than this which they obtained at Marathon. And Æschylus, when he was near his end, a man who had never mentioned himself in his writings before, though he was so celebrated a poet; and who had obtained great renown by his military prowess at Artemisium and Salamis; yet, when he published his poem on the battle of Marathon, he both inscribed his own name, and that of his country, in the front of the work; and cites, as witnesses of his fortitude, both the Marathonian grove, and the Medes who descended into it.

But above the Ceramicus, and the porch which is called Royal, the temple of Vulcan presents itself to the view. And, indeed, I am not at all surprised to find that there is a statue of Minerva in this temple, when I consider what is reported of Ericthonius. Perceiving, too, that the statue of Minerva has azure eyes, I find that this circumstance originates from a Lybian fable, which asserts that Minerva is the daughter of Neptune and of the lake Tritonia, and that on this account her eyes are azure, as well as those of Neptune. Near this is the temple of Celestial Venus, who was first worshipped by the Assyrians, and after these by the Paphians at Cyprus, and the Phœnicians who inhabited the city Ascalon in Palestine. But the Cythereans venerated this goddess, in consequence of learning her sacred rites from the Phœnicians. And Ægeus introduced the worship of this goddess to the Athenians, from believing that his want of children, and the misfortunes of his sisters, were occasioned through the anger of Celestial Venus. But the statue which exists at present is formed of Parian marble, and is the work of Phidias.

Among the Athenians likewise, there is a palace of the

Athmonensians, the officers of which assert, that Porphyrion reigned long before Actæus, and that the temple which they possess, of Celestial Venus, was established by him. The officers of this palace, however, assert things very different from the reports of the vulgar.

CHAPTER XV.

But the traveller, directing his course to that porch which is called *Various*, from the paintings which it contains, will perceive a brazen statue of Mercury, whom they denominate *Judicial*. This statue is near the gate, upon which there is a trophy erected by those Athenians who vanquished, in an equestrian contest, Plestarchus the brother of Cassander, of whose horse and mercenary troops he was the general. In this porch there is, first of all, a representation of the Athenians drawn up against the Lacedæmonians in Oenoe, an Argive town. The picture does not represent them as engaged in the vigour of fight, when each individual endeavours to render himself singular by his courage, but the battle seems just commencing, and they are beginning to engage hand to hand. But in the middle of the wall, the Athenians and Theseus are represented fighting with the Amazons. Of all women these alone could never be terrified by any calamity of war, or restrained from fresh engagements; but though Themiscyra was taken by Hercules, and the forces which they afterwards sent against the Athenians were vanquished, yet they fought at Troy with the Athenians, and with all Greece.

But after the Amazons, you may perceive the Grecians taking Troy, and all the kings collected together, on account of the daring crime of Ajax towards Cassandra; and

this picture contains Ajax, the troop of captive women, and Cassandra herself. And in the extremity of the picture, those who fought at Marathon are represented. But from among the Bœotians, the Platæenses are to be seen, and all those Athenians that engaged hand to hand with the Barbarians. Each army appears to be equally vigorous in its attacks; and in the heat of the battle the Barbarians are seen flying, and in their hurry thrusting each other into the marsh. But in the last place, the Phœnician ships are represented, and the Grecians slaughtering the Barbarians, who fled to these for refuge. The hero Marathon, too, is here painted, from whom the field is denominated; and Theseus, in the position of one ascending from the earth. There are likewise to be seen Minerva and Hercules; for the Marathonians, as they themselves assert, first paid divine honours to Hercules.

But of those engaged in battle, the most illustrious in the picture are Callimachus, who first managed the warlike affairs of the Athenians; and of the generals, Miltiades; and besides these the hero Echetlus, of whom I shall afterwards make mention. In the same place, too, brazen shields are fixed, with an inscription signifying that they belonged to the Scionœans and their allies. But the shields, which are here covered with pitch that they may not be injured by time, and the other spoils, are said to have been taken from the Lacedæmonians in the island Sphacteria.

CHAPTER XVI.

Before the porch there are brazen statues, viz. of Solon, who wrote laws for the Athenians; and a little farther off, that of Seleucus, whose future felicity was

evinced by prodigies by no means obscure. For this Seleucus, when departing from Macedonia with Alexander, sacrificed in Pella to Jupiter; but then the pieces of wood which were placed on the altar approached, of their own accord, to the statue of the god, and were enkindled without fire. But on the death of Alexander, Seleucus fearing the coming of Antigonus to Babylon, and flying to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, returned afterwards to Babylon. On his return, he vanquished the army of Antigonus, slew Antigonus himself, and took his son Demetrius prisoner. And as all these transactions were prosperous, and the affairs of Lysimachus were ruined not long after, he delivered the government of all Asia to his son Antiochus, and hastened himself to Macedonia.

The army therefore of Seleucus was composed of Greeks and Barbarians. But Ptolemy the brother of Lysandra, who fled from Lysimachus to Seleucus, a man of ready daring, and on this account denominated *Thunder* —this Ptolemy, as soon as he understood that the army of Seleucus was at Lysimachia, attacked Seleucus, and slew him; and, delivering his riches to be plundered by the kings, took possession of the Macedonian government. However, daring afterwards to oppose himself to the Gauls (though he was the first of all the kings we are acquainted with that ever attempted this), he was slain by the Barbarians. But Antigonus the son of Demetrius obtained the kingdom of Macedonia which he had preserved. With respect to Seleucus, I am fully persuaded, indeed, that he was most eminently just to men, and pious towards the gods. For it was this Seleucus who took care that a brazen statue of Apollo, which had been taken away from the Milesians by Xerxes, and carried to Ecbatan, should be again restored to the Branchidæ. And having besides this built the city Seleucea by the river Tigris, and brought the Babylonians to inhabit it, he neither de-

molished the wall of Babylon, nor the temple of Belus, and permitted the Chaldæans to dwell about their temple.

CHAPTER XVII.

But, in the market-place of the Athenians, there are other works which are not obvious to every one, and among the rest an altar of Pity; which divinity, as she is above all others beneficial to human life, and to the mutability of human affairs, is alone of all the Greeks reverenced by the Athenians. But these people indeed are not only remarkable for their philanthropy, but excel other nations in piety to the gods; for they have altars to *Shame*, *Fame*, and *Impetuosity*. And it is clearly manifest that these people, who excel others in piety, are equally remarkable for the good fortune which attends them. But in the Gymnasium, which is called Ptolemæum from its founder, and is at no great distance from the market-place, there are stones denominated Hermæ, which deserve to be inspected, and a brazen statue of Ptolemy; and besides these the Lybian Juba, and the Solensian Chrysippus. Near the Gymnasium, too, there is the temple of Theseus, which contains the following pictures: viz. a painting of the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons; and this battle is also represented in the shield of Minerva, and in the base of Olympian Jupiter. It likewise contains a painting of the fight of the centaurs and Lapithæ; and Theseus is represented in this picture slaying a centaur, but the battle seems to be equal among the rest. But the picture in the third wall cannot be understood by such as are unacquainted with the transactions which it represents; since some of its parts are destroyed by time, and Micon the painter has not represented the whole affair.

But the story is as follows: Minos, when he led away Theseus and the other band of youths into Crete, fell in love with Peribœa. But Theseus was averse to this amour, and not only greatly reviled Minos in his rage, but, among his other reproaches, asserted that he was not the son of Neptune; and that if he should cast that seal into the sea which he carried about him, he would not be able to recover it again. Minos, it is said, upon this immediately threw the seal into the sea; and Theseus, by the means of Amphitrite, not only received this seal from the sea, but likewise a golden crown. But many and at the same time disagreeing reports are spread about the death of Theseus; for they assert that he was once bound by Pluto, and at length liberated by Hercules. But a relation which I have heard is much more probable, *i. e.* that Theseus once came to Thesprotia, for the purpose of carrying away the wife of the Thesprotian king, and that having lost a great part of his army, both he and Pirithous (for Pirithous took up arms through an eager desire of being married) were taken captive and fettered by the Thesprotian king, at Cichyrus.

But at Thesprotia there are other things worthy of inspection, and particularly a temple of Jupiter in Dodona, and a beech-tree sacred to the god. Near Cichyrus, too, there is a marsh which is said to be the Acherusian marsh, and the river Acheron; and in the same place Cocytus flows a most unpleasant water. But it appears to me that Homer, having seen these places, had the boldness to insert in his poems, as well those particulars concerning souls in Hades, as the names of the infernal rivers, which he derived from the rivers of Thesprotia. In the mean time, while Theseus was detained in fetters, the sons of Tyndarus invaded Aphidna with an army, and, having taken the city, restored Mnestheus to his kingdom. And Mnestheus, indeed, by no means opposed the children of

Theseus in betaking themselves to Elephenor in Eubœa; but considering that Theseus, if he should ever return from Thesprotia, could not be attacked without great difficulty, he caused the people, by his suppliant arts, to promise that they would not receive Theseus on his return. Theseus, therefore, departed to Deucalion in Crete; but being driven by a tempest to the island Scyron, he was benignantly received by the Scyrians, both on account of his illustrious origin, and the grandeur of the actions which he had performed. And this reception induced Lycomedes to frustrate the snares which had been planned for his death. But a temple was raised at Athens to Theseus, after the Medes had taken possession of Marathon; Cimon, the son of Miltiades, at the same time overthrowing the Scyrians, revenged the death of Theseus, and brought back his bones to Athens.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the next place there is an ancient temple of the Dioscuri, in which they are beheld standing, and their sons on horseback. Here, too, Polygnotus painted their achievements, and the nuptials of the daughters of Leucippus. But Micon painted those that sailed to Colchis with Jason; the most accurate of whose paintings is that of Acastus and his horses. But above the temple of the Dioscuri is the grove of Aglaurus, to whose sisters, Herse and Pandrosus, Minerva is reported to have entrusted Erichthonius concealed in a chest, at the same time forbidding them to behold its contents. And they report that Pandrosus indeed was obedient to the commands of the goddess, but that her two sisters opened the chest, and, being agitated with fury as soon as they had seen

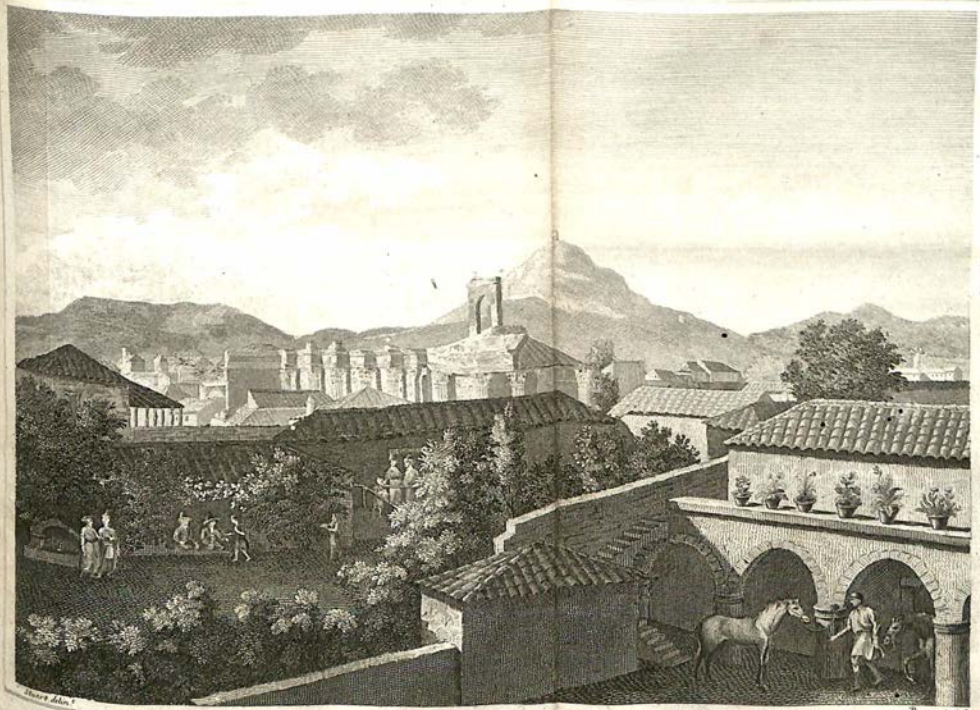
Erichthonius, threw themselves headlong from the steepest place of the tower. But near the place where they fell, the Medes, making an irruption, slew those Athenians, who, thinking that they understood the oracle better than Themistocles, fortified the tower with wooden works and trenches. Near this is the Prytaneum, in which the written laws of Solon are preserved, and which contains the statues of Peace and Vesta. But there are statues of various men, and, among the rest, of the pugilist Autolycus; for they transfer the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles to a Roman and Thracian man, the former inscription being abolished.

But, descending from hence to the inferior parts of the city, the temple of Serapis presents itself to the view; and this divinity the Athenians received from Ptolemy. The Egyptians, however, have many temples of this god; but the most illustrious temple is to be found at Alexandria, and the most ancient at Memphis. With respect to this last, indeed, strangers are not permitted to enter into it, nor even the priests themselves, till they have inhumed Apis. But not far from the temple of Serapis there is a place in which, according to report, Pirithous and Theseus amicably meeting, departed first to Lacedæmon, and afterwards to Thesprotia. Near this the temple of the goddess Lucina was formerly erected, which they report came to Delos from the Hyperbœi, that it might afford assistance to the parturient Latona. But they report, that other nations learnt the name of Lucina from the Delians. And the Delians indeed sacrifice to Lucina, and sing a hymn composed by Olen in her praise. The Cretans, however, who inhabit the country of Gnosia, are of opinion that Lucina was born in Amnisus, and that she is the daughter of Juno. But the Athenians alone veil the image of the goddess even to the extremities of her feet. Two of these statues, the women report, were brought from Crete, and

dedicated by Phædra; but they say the most ancient statue was brought from Delos by Erysichthon.

But the Emperor Adrian dedicated the temple of Olympian Jupiter, and the statue of the god, which deserves to be inspected, not indeed for its magnitude, because the Romans and Rhodians possess colossal statues, but for the symmetry of its construction; for it is composed from ivory and gold, and the art displayed in the composition admirably harmonizes with the magnitude of the statue. This place too contains statues of the Emperor Adrian, two of which are of Thasian and two of Egyptian stone. But before the pillars of the temple, which the Athenians call *colonies of cities*, there are certain statues of brass. And the circumference of the temple is about four stadia, and is full of statues. For an image of the Emperor Adrian is placed in it from every city; all which the Athenians have greatly surpassed, by placing in the back part of the temple a colossal statue of the Emperor, which is well worthy of inspection. In the same ambit, too, there are certain ancient statues, a brazen one of Jupiter, a temple of Saturn and Rhea, and a grove which they call Olympia. An opening of the earth likewise is to be seen here, about a cubit in magnitude, and they report that the water ran into this place after the deluge of Deucalion. Every year they throw into this chasm a cake made of honey and flower.

But on the column there is a statue of Isocrates, who left behind him three particulars worthy of remembrance. In the first place his *perseverance*, which was so remarkable, that, even when he was ninety-eight years old, he still continued to have disciples. In the next place, his *prudence*; for he always abstained from interfering in politics and public concerns. And, in the third place, his *independence*; for, after being told by a messenger the event of the battle of Chæronea, he voluntarily de-



A View of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

View of the Temple of the Winds, with part of the Acropolis or fortress of Athens.

stroyed himself through grief. In the same place, too, the Persæ are to be seen in Phrygian marble, holding a brazen tripod, both which deserve to be accurately inspected. And it is reported, indeed, that Deucalion built the ancient temple of Olympian Jupiter; for, as a manifest token that Deucalion dwelt at Athens, his sepulchre is to be seen not far from this very temple. But the Emperor Adrian raised other edifices for the Athenians, and particularly the temple of Juno, and Jupiter Panellenius, and a temple common to all the gods. But the most conspicuous of all the works are one hundred and twenty columns of Phrygian stone; and the walls of the porches consist of the same substance. There are likewise habitations in these which are fabricated from golden reeds and alabaster stone, and are adorned with statues and pictures. In the same temple too there is a library and a gymnasium, which is surnamed Adrian, and which contains a hundred pillars of Lybian stone.

CHAPTER XIX.

But after the temple of Olympian Jupiter, there is a statue near it of Pythian Apollo; and likewise another temple of Apollo, whom they call Delphinian. It is reported, that when this temple was finished as far as to the roof, Theseus, unknown to all men, entered into the city; that he was clothed with a garment which reached to his feet, and that his hair was elegantly disposed. They farther report, that as soon as he arrived near the Delphinian temple, he was asked in derision, by those who were employed in raising the roof, why a virgin like him, fit for marriage, wandered alone? But Theseus made no reply to their question; but freeing, as it is said, the oxen

from a cart which stood near, he raised the top of the cart to such a height that it surpassed the roof of the temple. With respect to that part of the city which they call *the Gardens*, and the temple of Venus which it contains, there is nothing in these worthy of being noticed. For there is not any thing remarkable in the statue of Venus which is near the temple, nor in the square figure sacred to Hermes. But an epigram in this place signifies, that Celestial Venus is the eldest of those divinities who are called the Parcæ. But the statue of Venus in *the Gardens* is the work of Alcamenes, and is one of the things at Athens which deserve to be inspected. There is also a temple of Hercules, whom they call *Cynosarges:* but the particulars about the white dog may be understood by those who read the oracle.

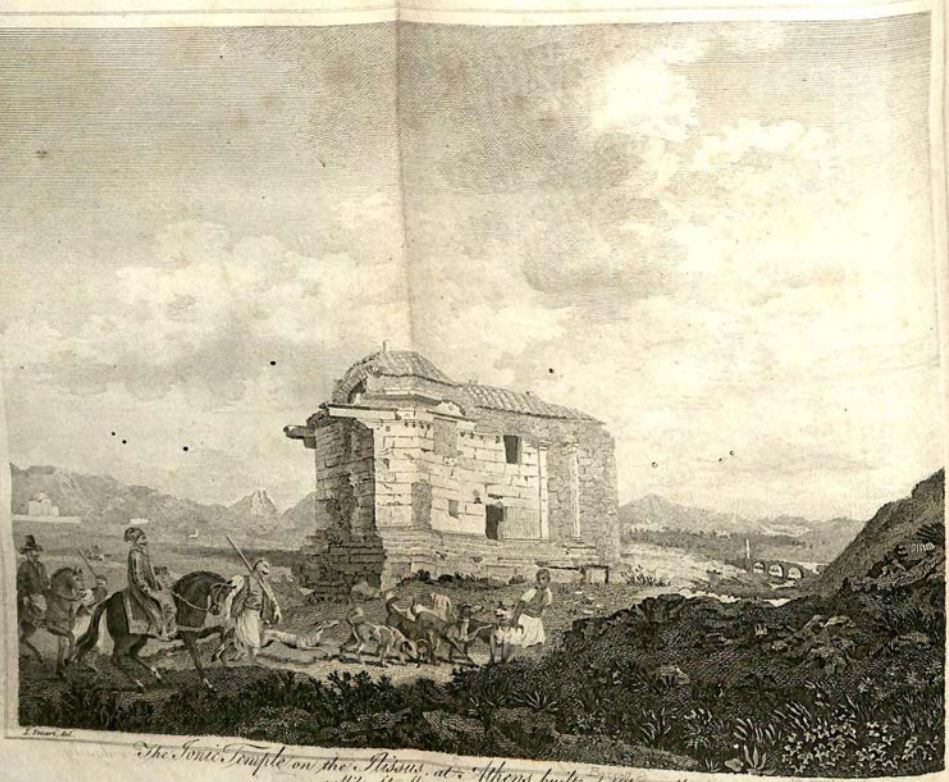
The altars too of Hercules and Hebe are to be seen here, the latter of whom, being the daughter of Jupiter, is said to have associated with Hercules. There is also an altar of Alcamenes, and of Jolaus, who was the companion of Hercules in many of his labours. But the Lyceum is denominated from Lycius, the son of Pandion. It was however from the first, and is at the present time believed to be the temple of Apollo; and that the god was first of all denominated from thence Lycius. It is also reported that the god is the cause of the Termissenses, to whom he fled from Ægeus, being called Lycians. But behind the Lyceum is the tomb of the Lycian Nisus, who, being cut off by Minos when he reigned over the Megarensians, was taken away by the Athenians, and buried in this place. It is reported of this Nisus, that he had purple hairs on his head, and that he was warned that death would be the consequence of the loss of these. It happened, however, that the Cretans entering into his territories, both took other cities of Megara by their incursions, and, compelling Nisus to fly, besieged him within the Nisæan walls.

But then, it is said, the daughter of Nisus, falling in love with Minos, shaved off her father's hairs. And such is the report about Nisus.

But the rivers which flow into Athens are, the Ilissus, and Eridanus which falls into the Ilissus, and has the same name with the Celtic Eridanus. And this Ilissus is the river upon whose banks Orithyia playing was, according to report, ravished by Boreas, and married to the god. They add too that Boreas, on account of her alliance to the Athenians, destroyed many of the three-oared galleys of the Barbarians. But the Athenians are of opinion that the Ilissus is both sacred to other gods and to the Muses; and on the banks of this river there is at present an altar of the Muses, who are called Ilissides. Not far from hence is the place where the Peloponnesians slew Codrus, the son of Melanthus, who reigned over the Athenians. But when you have passed over the Ilissus, you will perceive the place which is called Agræ, and the temple of Diana the huntress; and on this account a bow is added to her statue. But what I am now going to relate is not so delightful to the ear as wonderful to behold. There is a stadium in this part, of white stone, whose magnitude is evinced by this circumstance, that it commences from a mountain beyond the Ilissus, and extends itself in a lunar-form figure to the bank of the river, so as to form a two-fold wall. This stadium was built by an Athenian of the name of Herodes, who consumed a great quantity of Pentelician stones in its construction.

CHAPTER XX.

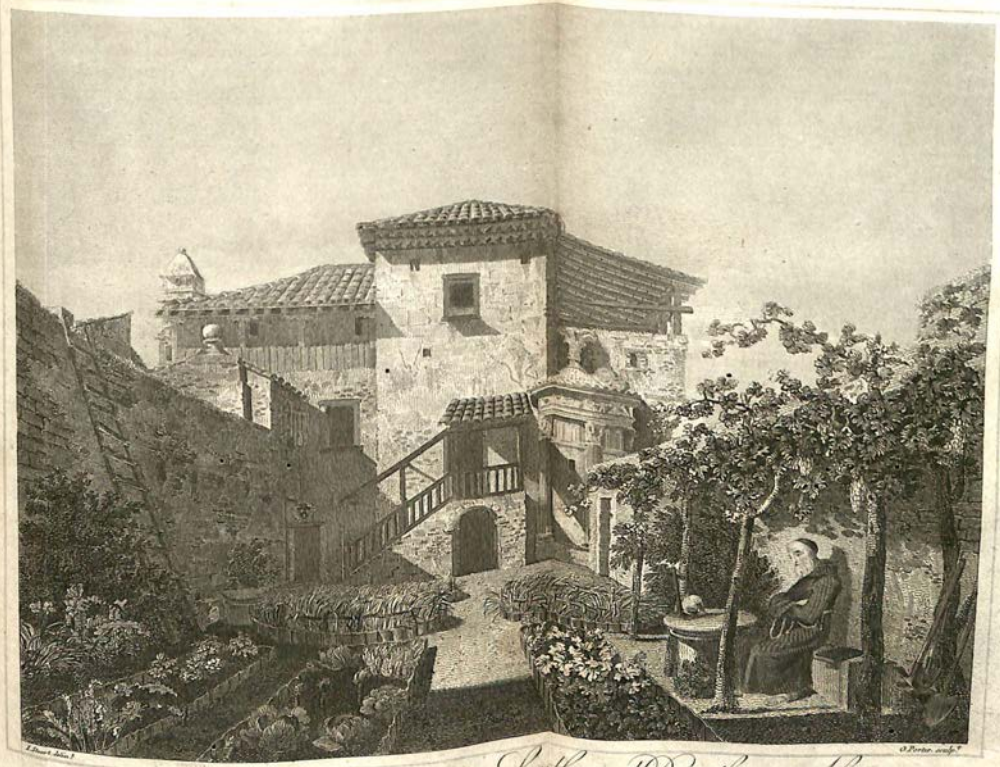
But there is a way from the Prytaneum, which they call Tripodes, and from whence the region is denominated.



The Ionic Temple on the Ilissus at Athens built of White Marble vulgarly
called St. Mary on the Rock.

In this place there are large temples of the gods, brazen tripods, and works which particularly deserve to be remembered. For a Satyr is to be seen here, in which Praxitiles is said to have greatly gloried. They farther report, that Phryne, with whom he was in love, once asking him which was the most beautiful of his works, he consented to give her his productions, but would not inform her which of them appeared to him to be most beautiful. Phryne therefore ordered her servant to tell Praxitiles that his work-shop was on fire, and that a great part of his works were destroyed, though as yet all of them were not consumed by the fire. Praxitiles on this information hastily left his apartment, and declared that his affliction would be but trifling if the flames had but spared his Satyr and Love. Phryne hearing this bid him be of good courage, for no calamity had befallen him, but that she had employed this stratagem, that she might force him to confess which he thought the most beautiful of his works. And Phryne, in consequence of this, made choice of his Love, in preference to his Satyr.

But in the temple of Dionysius, which is near this place, there is a youthful Satyr extending a cup. But the Love and Bacchus which stand together were the work of Thymilus. There is also a most ancient temple of Bacchus near the theatre. And within the circumference of this temple there are two other temples, and as many Bacchuses. One of these is called Eleuthereus, and the other was made by Alcamenes, and is fashioned from ivory and gold. The following pictures likewise are contained in the same place. First, Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven, which originates from this Grecian fable: Vulcan as soon as he was born was hurled from heaven by Juno; but the god, not unmindful of the injury which he had received, sent to Juno, as a gift, a golden throne which contained certain unapparent bonds, and with



The Monument of Lysicratis, commonly called the Lanthorn of Demosthenes at Athens.

which the goddess was bound as soon as she was seated on the throne. All the gods, however, except Bacchus, were unable to persuade Vulcan to free Juno from her bonds; but Bacchus, in whom Vulcan placed no small degree of confidence, having intoxicated Vulcan, led him back to heaven. In the next place, there is a painting of Pentheus and Lycurgus suffering the punishment of their injurious conduct towards Bacchus. And, after these, there is a picture in which Ariadne is represented sleeping, Theseus spreading his sails, and Bacchus approaching in order to ravish Ariadne.

But not far from the temple of Bacchus and the theatre, which is near it, there is an edifice which was raised, as it is said, in imitation of a structure of Xerxes. And this building indeed has been restored; for the ancient fabric was burnt by Sylla when he took Athens. But the cause of this battle was as follows: Mithridates reigned over those Barbarians who dwell about the Euxine Pontus. Though before I proceed any farther it is necessary to observe, that such as are desirous of knowing under what pretext he warred upon the Romans, and how, when he invaded Asia, he forcibly brought other cities into his power, or entered into a friendly alliance with them—these particulars I shall leave to such as wish to understand all the transactions of Mithridates. At present I shall only explain what belongs to the capture of Athens.

There was an Athenian then, called Aristion, whom Mithridates employed as an ambassador to the Grecian cities. This man persuaded the Athenians to prefer the friendship of Mithridates to that of the Romans. His persuasions, however, were not effectual with all the Athenians, but only with the common people, and these the most seditious; for such of the Athenians as were of any consequence willingly betook themselves to the Romans. But when the engagement took place, the Romans

had greatly the advantage, and, a flight of the Athenians ensuing, the Romans pursued Aristion and the Athenians to the city, but Archelaus and the Barbarians to the Piræeus. This Archelaus was a commander in the army of Mithridates, who, prior to this, invading the Magnetes that inhabit Sipylum, slaughtered indeed many of the Barbarians, but was himself wounded in the engagement. After this, the Athenians were besieged; and Taxilus, the general of Mithridates' forces, who then invested with his army Elatea in Phocis, hearing of their defeat, led his forces into Attica. The Roman general being informed of this circumstance, left a part of his army to continue the siege, and hastened with the greater part of his forces to meet Taxilus in Bœotia. But on the third day after his arrival messengers came from both armies into the Roman camps; to the camps of Sylla, informing him that the walls of Athens were taken; and to the besiegers, that Taxilus was vanquished in battle near Chæronea.

Sylla, therefore, as soon as he came to Athens, collecting all such Athenians as had opposed him into the Ceramicus, ordered that every tenth man, by lot, should be led to death. And the anger of Sylla against the Athenians suffering no remission, certain persons among them secretly came to Delphos, and inquired of the oracle whether it was necessary that the Athenians should be entirely destroyed. But the god, in answer to them, gave that oracle concerning the bladder. After this, Sylla was attacked with that disease which is said to have been fatal to Pherecydes Syrus. Sylla, indeed, was guilty of much greater cruelty to the Athenians than it became a Roman to inflict. It does not, however, appear to me that the behaviour of the Athenians to Sylla was the cause of their calamity, but that it arose from Jupiter the avenger of suppliants, who punished them by this means

for slaughtering Aristion after he had fled to the temple of Minerva for refuge. But the Athenians who suffered in this manner, in a war with the Romans, were restored to their former flourishing condition in the reign of the Emperor Adrian.

CHAPTER XXI.

But in the theatre at Athens there are many images of obscure tragic and comic poets; for except Menander there is not any celebrated comic poet; and of the tragic poets there are only two of great renown, viz. Euripides and Sophocles. But it is reported that, at the time when Sophocles died, the Lacedæmonians made an irruption into Attica, and that Bacchus himself appeared as their leader, commanding them to venerate a new Siren with the same honours which are usually paid to the dead. And in a dream about Sophocles, this Siren was seen with the poetical compositions of Sophocles in his hands. Indeed it is usual even now to compare poems and discourses, which are replete with an alluring power, to the song of a Siren. But with respect to the image of Æschylus and the picture in which his valour at Marathon is represented, I am of opinion that these were produced a long time after his death.

Æschylus indeed says of himself, that when he was a boy, he once fell asleep in a field, where he was watching some grapes, and that Bacchus appeared to him in a dream, and exhorted him to write tragedies. He adds, that as soon as it was day (for he was willing to be persuaded) he made trial of his skill in composing a tragedy, and succeeded with ease. But in the wall which they call *Southern*, and which extends from the tower to the

theatre, a golden head of the Gorgon Medusa is contained; and together with it the ægis is to be seen. Likewise, in the top of the theatre, there is a cave among the rocks under the tower. In this cavern there is a tripod, together with the images of Apollo and Diana represented in the act of destroying the children of Niobe. After I had seen this Niobe, I proceeded to the mountain Sipylus. Near this place there is a rock and a precipice, which to one who stands near it does not exhibit the shape of a woman, but he who beholds it at a distance will think he sees a woman weeping and lamenting.

But on proceeding from the theatre to the Athenian tower, you will see the tomb of Calus. After Dædalus had slain this Calus, who was the son and disciple of his sister, he fled into Crete, and afterwards to Cocalus in Sicily. But the temple of Esculapius is well worthy of inspection, as well on account of the statues of the god and his sons, as the pictures which it contains. There is also a fountain in this temple, near which they report Halirrhothius, the son of Neptune, was slain by Mars for having disgraced his daughter Alcippe. In this place, too, among other things, there is a Sarmatican coat of mail, which, if well inspected, evinces that the Barbarians are no less skilful in arts than the Grecians. For the Sarmatians neither have iron, nor is it imported to them from other nations, as these Barbarians are more than all others free from association with foreign countries. In consequence therefore of this want of iron, they have devised wicker instead of iron tops for their spears. Their bows and arrows too are of cornel wood, and the tops of these are wicker. They likewise in battle throw chains about every enemy they meet with, and at the same time their horses turning about, they throw down the enemy entangled in their chains.

But they fashion their coats of mail after the following manner. Each of these Barbarians has a great quantity of horses; for their land is not separated into parts so as to be subservient to the use of private persons, nor does it bear any thing except rustic wood, as the inhabitants are nothing more than Nomades. These horses they not only use for the purposes of war, but they sacrifice them to their country gods, and even use them for food. But collecting the hoofs of these animals, and purifying and dividing them, they polish them so as to resemble the scales of a dragon. He indeed who has not seen a dragon may compare this composition from hoofs to a pine-nut while yet green. This scale-like composition they perforate, and sew it together with the nerves of horses and oxen, and afterwards use it for coats of mail, which are not inferior to those of the Greeks either for elegance or strength; as they will sustain a blow given either remotely or near at hand. Linen coats of mail indeed are not in a similar manner useful to warriors, because they are pervious to the vehement percussions of iron, and only serve as a defence to hunters; for in these the teeth of lions and panthers are rendered debile and blunt. And you may perceive linen coats of mail suspended both in other temples, and in the temple of Grynæus Apollo. The grove too of this god is most beautifully planted with trees, and is no less delectable for the sweet smell which it exhales than for the pleasant spectacles which it affords.

CHAPTER XXII.

But after the temple of Esculapius, in the way which leads to the tower, the temple of Themis presents itself to the view, before which there is the tomb of Hippolytus,

who is reported to have died through imprecations. Indeed the very Barbarians that are not ignorant of the Greek tongue are acquainted with the love of Phædra, and the ministrant boldness of her nurse. But there is likewise among the Troezenians a tomb of Hippolytus, about which there is the following account. Theseus, when he intended to marry Phædra, being unwilling, if he should have any children by her, either that they should reign over Hippolytus, or Hippolytus over them, on this account sent Hippolytus to Troezen to one Pittheus, both that he might be there educated, and that he might at length govern the Troezenians. Some time after this Theseus having slain Pallas and his sons, who had made an insurrection against him, came to Troezen for the purpose of purifying himself from the slaughter. Here it was that Phædra first saw Hippolytus, and through the violence of her love laid the plan of her own destruction. And a myrtle is to this day preserved by the Troezenians, whose leaves are perforated in every part. They report that this was not the case with the myrtle at first, but that it was perforated in this manner by Phædra, with the pin that fastened her hair, through the anguish of love.

But Theseus first introduced the worship of Venus Popularis, and of the goddess Persuasion, when he led the Athenian people from the fields, and formed them into one city. The ancient statues of these divinities do not exist at present, though the statues which are now extant are by no means the productions of the most ignoble artificers. There is also a temple of *Earth the nurse of youths*, and of *virid Ceres*. But the reason of these appellations may be known from the priests. Again, there is only one entrance to the tower; for the other ways are inaccessible, either through steep rocks, or a strong wall. But the summits of the vestibules, which they call Propylæa, are fashioned from white stone; and

A View of the DORIC PORTICO at ATHENS in its present State.

at present these porches are preferred before other works, both for their ornament, and the magnitude of the stones from which they are composed. With respect to the equestrian statues I cannot say who were their artificers, whether they were made by the sons of Xenophon, or by some other, as an ornament to the place.

But on the right hand of the vestibules there is a temple of *Victory without wings*. From hence there is a prospect of the sea; and they report that Ægeus, hurling himself into this sea, perished. For it is said that Theseus, when he departed to slay the Minotaur, in consequence of confiding in his own valour, told his father that he would use white sails if he returned victorious from the slaughter of the bull. But Ægeus, who was ignorant that Ariadne had been carried away, perceiving that the vessel of Theseus had black sails, concluded that his son was dead, and hurled himself into the sea. And the Athenians have a sepulchre which they call the *heroum* of Ægeus. On the left hand of the vestibules there is a dwelling adorned with pictures, among which those whose figures are not sufficiently apparent are injured by time. Diomed is to be seen here, and Ulysses, the former carrying from Lemnos the arrows of Philoctetes, and the latter carrying the Palladium from Ilium. Among the pictures, too, Orestes is represented slaying Ægisthus, and Pylades beheading the sons of Nauplius, who came to the assistance of Ægisthus. But near the tomb of Achilles, Polyxena is about to be slaughtered; and Homer was certainly right in omitting to mention so cruel a deed. He likewise appears to me to have acted well when, relating that Scyros was destroyed by Achilles, he does not say that Achilles lived in that island with the virgins, which almost all other poets have asserted, and which Polygnotus has represented in the picture.

But the same Polygnotus has painted Ulysses standing

by Nausicaa, and the virgins who were washing their garments with her, according to the relation of Homer. There are also other pictures, and among these the picture of Alcibiades, and equestrian monuments of the victory at Nemea. Perseus too is seen here, carrying to Polydectes at Seriphos the head of Medusa. But it is not proper that I should relate the particulars concerning Medusa in a description of Attica. Among these pictures, omitting the boy carrying water-pots, and the wrestler painted by Timænetus, Musæus is to be seen, who, as I find it reported in certain verses, was enabled to fly through the beneficence of Boreas. It appears to me, however, that Onomacritus is the author of these verses; for there is nothing extant of Musæus which can be depended on except a hymn to Ceres, composed for the Lycomidæ. But in the entrance to the tower there is a statue of Mercury, whom they call Propylæus, and statues of the Graces, both which are said to have been made by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, who, according to the testimony of the Pythian Apollo, was the wisest of men; an encomium which the oracle was by no means willing to bestow on Anacharsis, though he came to Delphos with a view of receiving the elogium of the god.

CHAPTER XXIII.

But among other things which the Greeks report of themselves, they relate, that of their ancestors there were seven wise men, among which they enumerate the Lesbian tyrant, and Periander the son of Cypselus; though indeed Pisistratus and his son Hippias were both more philanthropic and wise than Periander, and were likewise superior to him in warlike and political affairs; especially

before Hippias gave way to his anger on other occasions, and particularly with respect to the harlot Leæna. For after the death of Hipparchus (I speak of an affair which was never before committed to writing, though it is believed by the greater part of the Athenians) he inflicted wounds on this woman till she died; and this in consequence of knowing that she was the associate of Aristogiton, and conjecturing from thence that she was by no means ignorant of the conspiracy against Hipparchus. But the Athenians, being freed from the tyranny of the children of Pisistratus, dedicated a brazen lioness to the memory of this woman; and near it is the statue of Venus, which they report was the gift of Callias, and the work of Calamis.

But not far from this there is a brazen statue of Dütrephes pierced with arrows. This Dütrephes both performed other actions which the Athenians celebrate, and brought back the hired Thracians, who (Demosthenes having set sail from Syracuse) came too late for the purpose for which they were wanted. Besides this, Dütrephes, when he came to the Chalcidican Euripus, left the sea, and took Mycalesus, a Mediterranean city. But when the city was taken, the Thracians not only slew the Mycalesian warriors, but the women and children. And the truth of this assertion is evinced by the following circumstance:— Whatever cities of the Bœotians the Thebans destroyed are restored at present by those very men that fled from the slaughter. And there can be no doubt but that the Mycalesians would have returned also, if they had not been totally cut off by the Barbarians. Indeed I cannot sufficiently admire that Dütrephes should be represented pierced with arrows, at a time when it was not the native custom of any of the Greeks, except the Cretans, to fight with arrows. For we know that the Opuntian Locrians used heavy armour in the Persian war; and Homer relates

that they came to Troy with bows and slings. But neither did the Malienses retain the use of arrows; nor does it appear that they knew the use of them prior to Philoctetes, or that they retained the art long after him.

But near the statue of Dütrephes (for I am not willing to write about more obscure images) there are statues of the gods; viz. one of *Hygia*, who they report is the daughter of Esculapius, and another of Minerva, who is likewise called Hygia. In the same place too there is a stone of no great magnitude, but of a size about sufficient for a little man to sit upon. They report that Silenus rested on this stone when Bacchus first came into Attica; for they call Silenus the eldest of all the Satyrs. But with respect to the Satyrs, that I might know something more about them than others, I have discoursed with many on the subject. And among the rest Euphemus Car informed me, that when he sailed to Italy, he was driven by the violence of the wind to the external sea; that there were many desert islands in this place, which were inhabited by savages; and that the sailors were unwilling to land upon such of these as they had been driven upon before, but that at that time they landed on them through necessity. These islands are called by the sailors Satyridæ: the inhabitants are of a yellow colour, and have tails at their loins not much less than those of horses. These people, as soon as they perceived the sailors, ran to the ship, and, without uttering a word, seized the women that were in the vessel. But the sailors, being terrified in the extreme, exposed a Barbarian female upon the island; and the Satyrs not only violated that part of her body which nature points out for the purpose of coition, but every part of her body in a similar manner.

But in the Athenian tower I saw, among other things worthy of inspection, a brazen statue of the boy Lycius (the work of Myron), holding a laver in his hand; and a

Perseus, the work of the same Myron, represented destroying Medusa. In the same place too there is the temple of Brauronian Diana: and the statue indeed is the work of Praxitiles; but the name of the goddess is derived from the town Brauron, where there is an ancient image which they call Taurica Diana. There is likewise a brazen horse to be seen here, which they call Durius. And that this warlike machine was made by Epeus, for the purpose of throwing down walls, is obvious to every one who does not believe that the Trojans were perfectly stupid. But it is reported that the best of the Greeks were concealed within this horse; and indeed the shape of the brass corresponds with this report; for Mnestheus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus leaped forth from the inside of this horse.

But among the statues which are placed after the horse there is an image made by Critias, of a person, during the government of Charinus, running in armour. Oenobius also is honoured for the service which he rendered Thucydides, the son of Olorus. For this Oenobius was the occasion of a decree being passed that Thucydides should return to Athens; though Thucydides immediately on his return destroyed Oenobius by his stratagems, whose sepulchre is not far from the gates called Melitides. But the particulars which are mentioned by other writers about Hermolychus the pancratiast, and Phormio, the son of Asopichus, I shall pass over in silence. The following circumstance however about Phormio deserves to be recorded: it once happened that this Phormio was deeply in debt, though for the integrity of his life and the splendour of his ancestors he was equal to any of the Athenians. In consequence of this, Phormio departing to the town Pæaniensis, as a fit place of retreat, was during his absence decreed the command of the Athenian fleet. Phormio, however, would not accept the command, because he

could not establish his authority among the soldiers till he was liberated from his debts. But the Athenians, as they unanimously wished him for their leader, discharged the whole of his debts.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In this place, too, there is a Minerva chastising Silenus, the Marsian, because he took up the pipes which the goddess had thrown away. And besides what I have mentioned, there is a representation of the battle of Theseus with the Minotaur, whether this animal was a man or a wild beast, which last is the prevailing opinion. At present, indeed, the women perform prodigious things, and such as are much more wonderful than this. Phrixus likewise is to be seen here, the son of Athamas, who was carried to Colchis on a ram. But he is represented sacrificing the ram to some unknown god (though it appears to be that divinity which the Orchomenians call Laphystius), and beholding the burning thighs which he had cut off according to the Grecian rites. There are also other statues of the gods, and among these Hercules, according to the fable, strangling the dragons; Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter; and a bull, the gift of the Areopagitæ. But on what account this bull was dedicated leaves room for abundant conjecture.

We have before observed, that the Athenians far excel other nations in their attention to divine concerns; for they first of all denominated Minerva Ergane; first worshipped mutilated Mercuries; and dedicated a temple to the Dæmon of worthy men. But he who very much esteems the elaborate productions of art may behold the following ancient statues. There is a man with a helmet

on his head, the work of Cleoetas, who also fashioned the nails of this man from silver. There is likewise a statue of Earth, imploring showers from Jupiter; whether the Athenians at the time this statue was made were in want of rain, or whether all Greece was then oppressed with a vehement drought. Timotheus Cononis is also to be seen here, and Conon himself; likewise Procne deliberating concerning her son—and Itys; both which were dedicated by Alcamenes. The same person too made a Minerva exhibiting the plant of the olive, and Neptune exhibiting water. There is here likewise a statue of Jupiter, the work of Leochares, and of a Jupiter who is denominated Polieus. The manner of sacrificing to this divinity is as follows; but the reason of it I shall pass over in silence. They place barley mingled with wheat upon the altar of Jupiter Polieus, but they do not admit of a guard upon the occasion. The ox who is prepared for the sacrifice touches these fruits when he reaches the altar; and the priest, whom they call Buphonus, or the ox-slayer, hurling his ax at the ox (for this is their sacred custom), flies afterwards hastily away. But those that stand near, as if they did not see the striker of the ox, lead the ax to judgment. And such is their manner of performing sacrifice.

But in that temple which they call the Parthenon, and in that part of the *Tortoise* which is denominated Aquilæ, there are statues pertaining to the nativity of Minerva. And in the hinder part there is a representation of the contest between Minerva and Neptune about Attica. The statue of the goddess is formed from ivory and gold, and the image of a sphinx is placed on the cone of her helmet. But when I describe the Bœotian affairs, I shall relate the particulars respecting the sphinx. On each side of her helmet, too, there are griffins: and these griffins are said by Aristeas the Proconnesian, in his verses, to have fought for the sake of gold with the Arimaspi who dwell

above the Isedones. The gold indeed which the griffins guard, the poet says, was sent from the earth; but the Arimaspi had each of them but one eye from their birth. He adds, that the griffins are like lions, but that they have the wings and beak of an eagle. And thus much concerning griffins.

But the statue of Minerva is erect, with a garment reaching to her feet. There is a head of Medusa, fashioned from ivory, in her breast, and a Victory of about four cubits in length. In her hand she holds a spear, a shield lies at her feet, and near her spear there is a dragon, which may perhaps be Erichthonius; and at the base of the statue the generation of Pandora is represented. Hesiod, indeed, and other poets, assert, that Pandora was the first woman, and that the race of women had not any subsistence prior to Pandora. In this place I remember to have seen only one statue of the Emperor Adrian, and in the entrance to the temple a statue of Iphicrates, who exhibited many and admirable works. Beyond the temple there is a brazen Apollo, which they report was made by Phidias. But they call the statue Parnopius, because the god once banished from this country locusts, which greatly injured the land. And that these insects were expelled they are indeed certain; but they do not report in what manner this was accomplished. I know, indeed, that locusts have been thrice destroyed in the mountain Sipylus, but not after the same manner; for once the god exterminated them by a violent wind; at another time by vehement heat; and the third time by unexpected cold. And such are the particulars which happened in my time respecting the destruction of locusts.

CHAPTER XXV.

But in the tower of the Athenians there is a statue of Pericles the son of Xanthippus, and of Xanthippus himself, who engaged in a naval battle with the Persians at Mycale. The statue of Pericles, however, is separated from the rest; but that of Anacreon Teuis stands near Xanthippus. This Anacreon was the first, after the Lesbian Sappho, who employed a great part of his works on amatorial subjects; and his figure is as it were that of a man singing while intoxicated. But the females which are near him, viz. Io the daughter of Inachus, and Callisto the daughter of Lycaon, were made by Dinomenes. And similar things are related of both these; for in each story we find the love of Jupiter, the anger of Juno, and a metamorphosis of Io into a cow, and of Callisto into a bear. But in the southern wall of the tower, the war of the Giants, who inhabited the isthmus of Pallene, is represented; the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons; their illustrious actions at Marathon against the Medes; and the slaughter of the Gauls in Mysia: all which were dedicated by Attalus, and each occupies about the space of two cubits.

But among the other statues there is one of Olympiodorus, who is thus honoured for the magnitude of his actions, and particularly for having raised the hopes of the Athenians, when through the iniquity of the times, and their frequent losses in war, they had almost abandoned themselves to despair. For, in consequence of that misfortune at Chæronea, all Greece was distressed; since even those that merely beheld the danger, and such as were in the army with the Macedonians, were enslaved. At that time indeed Philip took many cities, but he

greatly injured the Athenians, under the pretext of a peace, by taking their islands from them, and the empire of the sea. Hence, as long as Philip reigned, and after him Alexander, the Athenians were obliged to be quiet. But when, on the death of Alexander, the Macedonians chose Aridæus for a king (at the same time committing the administration of affairs to Antipater), then the Athenians did not think it any longer proper that Greece should be oppressed by the Macedonians. In consequence of this, they immediately took up arms, and excited others to engage in the war.

But the cities which united with the Athenians on this occasion were, of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, Phliasians, and Messenians. But of those beyond the isthmus of the Corinthians, the Locrians, Phocenses, Thessalians, Carystus, and the Acarnanes, who contributed in conjunction with the Ætolians. But the Bœotians, who after the destruction of Thebes took possession of the Theban land, fearing that the Athenians would again eject them from Thebes, would not enter into an alliance with them in the war, but assisted the Macedonians to the utmost of their power. But when the cities, which then associated together for the purpose of carrying on war, had chosen their respective commanders, the several nations unanimously chose the Athenian Leosthenes for the general of all the forces, both on account of the dignity of his city, and his skill in military affairs; and likewise because he had benefited the whole of Greece. For when Alexander determined to distribute the Greeks who had received a stipend from Darius into the Persian cities, Leosthenes, before this could be accomplished by Alexander, came with a fleet into Europe. And then indeed, when the splendour of his actions surpassed the expectations of all men, his death was not more lamentable than calamitous

to all. For then the Macedonian guards, attacking the Athenians, first of all took Munychia, then the Piræeus, and afterwards the long walls. Antipater however dying, Olympias departing from Epirus reigned for a time after having cut off Aridæus. But, not long after this, the city was taken by Cassander, and given up to the multitude of the Macedonians.

Cassander therefore obtaining the government (that I may omit what does not belong to the Athenians), took Panactus, a wall in Attica, together with Salamis, and gave the Athenians for a ruler Demetrius the son of Phanostratus, a man renowned for his wisdom. But Demetrius the son of Antigonus, a youth desirous of being honoured by Greece, deprived this Demetrius of his government. Cassander, however, who vehemently hated the Athenians, persuaded Lachares, who at that time held the first place among the people, and with whom he was very familiar, to take upon himself the royal authority; and this Lachares was, of all the men we are acquainted with, the most savage in his manners, and the most impious towards the gods. But Demetrius the son of Antigonus, though he disagreed in some respects with the Athenians, yet overturned the tyranny of Lachares. And Lachares, when he saw that the walls were taken, fled to the Bœotians. But here, having taken the golden shield from the tower, and carried away all such ornaments of Minerva as were capable of being removed, he was slain by the Coronæans, in consequence of their believing him to be uncommonly rich. Demetrius the son of Antigonus, however, though he freed the Athenians from their tyrants, yet did not immediately after the massacre of Lachares restore them the Piræeus; but some time after having reduced the city under his own authority, he fortified that place which they call the Museum. But within the ancient precinct, in a direction opposite to the tower, there is a hill in which

the poet Musæus is reported to have sung, and in which, when worn out with age, he was buried; and in the same place afterwards a monument was erected to one Syrus. This hill Demetrius took care to fortify.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Some years after this, the best of the Athenians called to mind the deeds of their ancestors, and perceiving how much the dignity of their republic was degraded, immediately chose Olympiodorus for their commander. But he was no sooner chosen than he led against the Macedonians both young and old without any exception, trusting that he should restore the glory of his country more by the soldiers' alacrity than strength. Engaging therefore with the Macedonians in fight, he vanquished them, and, pursuing them flying into the Museum, took the place, and thus freed the Athenians from the Macedonian yoke. But though all the Athenians at that time acted in a manner deserving of praise, yet the hardy undertaking of Leocritus the son of Protarchus surpassed the achievements of all the rest. For he was the first that ascended the walls, and was the first that broke into the Museum. And in consequence of his being slain in the battle, the Athenians, among other honours which they paid him, dedicated his shield to Jupiter the Liberator, with an inscription expressing his name and illustrious enterprise.

But Olympiodorus, exclusive of those great achievements which we have already related, not only recovered the Piræeus and Munychia, but vanquished the same Macedonians when they invaded Eleusis, by collecting a band of Eleusinians; and, prior to this, when Cassander

intended to invade Attica, Olympiodorus sailing to Ætolia persuaded the Ætolians to assist him, and by this means freed the Athenians from the impending war. But the Athenians have raised monuments of honour to this Olympiodorus, both in the tower and the Prytaneum; and Eleusis contains pictures of his achievements. The Phocensians too, that inhabit Elatea, have placed a brazen statue of Olympiodorus at Delphos, because he assisted them when they were deserted by Cassander. But near the statue of Olympiodorus, there is a brazen statue of Diana, who is called Leucophrone, which was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles. For the Magnetes, over whom Themistocles ruled by the appointment of the king, worship Diana Leucophrone. But it is not proper that I, who am describing the whole of Greece, should dwell any longer on these particulars.

Again, therefore, Endoeus was an Athenian by birth, but the disciple of Dædalus. This Endoeus followed Dædalus, flying to Crete on account of the slaughter of Calus. The statue of Minerva sitting is the work of this man, which has an inscription signifying that it was dedicated by Callias, and made by Endoeus. In the same place, too, there is a building which they call Erectheus; and in the vestibule of it there is an altar of *Jupiter the Supreme*, upon which they do not sacrifice any thing animated; but placing a certain kind of cakes, they at the same time forbid the use of wine on the occasion. But on entering into this edifice there is an altar of Neptune, upon which, in compliance with an oracle, they sacrifice to Erectheus, and an altar of the hero Buta, and a third of Vulcan. In the wall there are paintings pertaining to the family of the Butadæ. But the building itself is twofold, and contains a well of marine water; which is by no means a circumstance extremely wonderful, since the most inland inhabitants, and particularly the Aphrodisienses in

Caria, have wells of this kind. There are certain writings however extant, which assert, that when the south wind blows, this water yields the sound of waves; and in the rock there is a representation of a trident. But these circumstances are said to evince the contest of Minerva with Neptune for Attica.

Indeed, both the city and all the country is sacred to Minerva; for whatever other divinities they worship in their different towns, yet the reverence which they pay to Minerva is universally the same. But the most holy of all the images is that statue of Minerva which, by the common consent of all the towns, before they collected themselves into one city, was dedicated in that place which is now called the *tower*, but was then denominated the *city*. It is reported that this statue fell from heaven; but whether this was the case or not, I shall not at present attempt to prove. Callimachus made for the statue of the goddess a lamp of gold, which, when filled with oil, burns day and night for the space of a year; and this is owing to the wick of the lamp being made of Carpasian flax, which alone of all other things is unconsumable by fire. Above the lamp there is a brazen palm-tree, which rising to the roof of the building dissipates the fume. But Callimachus, who made the lamp, though he does not rank among the first statuaries, yet in wisdom he excels them all; for he first of all devised a method of perforating stones; and as to his being called *Cacizotechnos*, or a calumniator of his own art, he either gave himself this name, or usurped it when imposed by others.

CHAPTER XXVII.

In the temple of Polias, there is a wooden Mercury, not very conspicuous for the branches of myrtle with which it is surrounded, and which is said to have been the gift of Cecrops. But among the ancient gifts which deserve to be mentioned, there is a joined bed-seat, the work of Dædalus: and, among the spoils of the Medes, a coat of mail of Masistius, who had the command of the horse at Platæa; and a Persian scimitar, which is said to have belonged to Mardonius. We know indeed that Masistius was slain by the Athenian horse; but Mardonius, fighting against the Lacedæmonians, was slain by a Spartan soldier; so that it does not appear to me that the Lacedæmonians had this scimitar in their possession at first, or, if they had, they certainly would not permit the Athenians to take it away. With respect to the olive, they report nothing concerning it, except that it serves as a monument to prove the contest of Minerva for Attica. They assert likewise, that this olive, being burnt when the Persians took the city from the Athenians, blossomed the same day to the height of two cubits.

But the temple of Pandrosus joins to that of Minerva; for Pandrosus alone, of all her sisters, was faithful to her trust. The particulars, however, which appear to me most admirable, and which are not generally known, I shall take upon me to describe. There are two virgins that dwell not far from the temple of Polias, and who are called by the Athenians Canephoræ. These virgins for a certain time dwell with the goddess, and when the festive day arrives they carry on their heads in the night certain

things which the priestess orders them to take; the priestess at the same time neither knowing what she gives them, nor the virgins what they carry. But there is a certain enclosure in the city, not far from that which is called the enclosure of Venus in the gardens; and in this there is a natural subterranean descent. Into this cave the virgins descend, leave behind them the things which they carried, and take up some other concealed thing in its stead. These virgins are for that time dismissed, and other virgins are led to the tower in their stead.

But by the temple of Minerva there is the image of an old woman, which may be easily carried, as it is not more than a cubit in height; and the inscription signifies that she was the servant of one Lysimacha. There are also two great statues of brass, in the position of two men fighting; and one of these they call Erechtheus, but the other Eumolpus. But such Athenians as are acquainted with ancient affairs, know that this Immaradus was the son of Eumolpus whom Erechtheus slew. At the base of this statue, there is a statue of Endoeus, who was the prophet of Tolmides, and another of Tolmides himself, who, commanding the Athenian fleet, both injured others, and particularly the maritime land of the Peloponnesians. The same person also burnt the ships of the Lacedæmonians at Gythium; and afterwards attacking the neighbouring coasts, took Euboea and the island of the Cytheræans. But passing afterwards into Sicyonia, he drove back into the city those that endeavoured to prevent him from depopulating the land. And from thence returning to Athens, he brought Euboea and Naxus in subjection to the Athenians; and marching with an army into Bœotia, depopulated the land. But after this having besieged and taken Chæronea, he proceeded to Haliartus, where he lost

his life in a battle, and his whole army was put to flight. And such are the particulars which I have learnt concerning Tolmides.

There are likewise ancient statues of Minerva, which remain indeed entire, but are discoloured with smoke, and cannot bear a blow; for the flames reached these at the time when, the Athenians flying to their ships, Xerxes seized on the city deserted of its strength. There is also a representation of the hunting of a boar, concerning which I do not clearly know whether the boar is Caledonian; and together with this Cycnus fighting with Hercules. They report that this Cycnus destroyed, among others, Lycus the Thracian; rewards being proposed for this single contest. He was slain, however, by Hercules near the river Peneus. But among other things which the Troezenians relate of Theseus, they add, that Hercules once came to Pittheus at Troezen, and that at a feast he reclined on the skin of a lion; that a number of Troezenian boys came to see him, and among the rest Theseus, who was then nearly seven years old. And the other boys, indeed, as soon as they saw the lion's skin, fled away frightened; but Theseus, who was not greatly terrified, drew back a little, and seizing an ax from the hands of the servants, was desirous of immediately attacking him, in consequence of supposing the skin to be a living lion. And this is the first account which the Troezenians give of Theseus.

But they add likewise the following. Ægeus concealed under a stone a pair of slippers and a sword, that through these as marks he might be enabled to discover his son. After this he returned to Athens, and Theseus when he was about sixteen years old removed the stone, and took away the slippers and the sword. The whole of this story, except the stone, is represented in brass in the tower. In the same place, too, there is a representation of another

achievement of Theseus, the history of which is as follows. A bull once laid waste both other parts of the Cretan land, and that part which is situated near the river Tethrinus; for formerly wild beasts were more terrible to mankind than at present, as is evident from the Nemæan and Parnasian lions, the dragons which were found in many parts of Greece, the Caledonian and Erymanthian boars, and the Crommyonian boar in the borders of the Corinthians. But, as it is reported, some of these animals were produced by the earth, some were sacred to the gods, and some were brought into existence for the punishment of men. And, indeed, this very bull is said by the Cretans to have been sent by Neptune, because Minos, who ruled over all the Grecian sea, paid no more honours to Neptune than to any other god. They farther add, that this bull passed over from Crete into Peloponnesus, and that his destruction was one of the twelve labours of Hercules.

But as soon as this bull came into the Argive fields, he fled through the Corinthian isthmus to Marathon, a country of Attica, and there, among others that were destroyed by him, he slew Androgeus the son of Minos. But Minos, believing that his son's death was a designed affair, fitted out a fleet against the Athenians, whom he did not cease to molest, till they promised to send every year into Crete seven boys and as many virgins, as a prey to the Minotaur whom Minos had inclosed in the Gnossian labyrinth. But it is reported that Theseus afterwards drove the Marathonian bull into the tower, and sacrificed it to the goddess. And the representation of this affair is dedicated in a town of the Marathons.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

I CANNOT, however, clearly assign the reason why they have thought Cylo, who deliberated about the tyranny, worthy of a brazen statue. I conjecture, indeed, that it arose from the beauty of his person, and a reputation by no means obscure; for he was victor in the second course at the Olympic games, and married the daughter of Theagines the Megarensian tyrant. But besides what I have yet related, there are two illustrious works among the Athenians, belonging to the tenths of the warlike prey; viz. a brazen statue of Minerva, produced by the art of Phidias, which was taken from the Medes when they invaded Marathon. In the shield of the goddess, the battle of the Lapithæ and Centaurs is carved by Mys; but Parrhasius, the son of Evenor, painted this for Mys, and likewise the other figures which are beheld in the shield. But the point of the goddess's spear, and the crest of her helmet, are even visible to those that sail from Sunium. And from among the tenths of the spoils taken from the Bœotians and Chalcidians who dwell in Eubœa, there is a brazen chariot. There are also two other consecrated gifts, viz. a statue of Pericles the son of Xanthippus, and a statue of Minerva, which deserves to be inspected above all the works of Phidias, and which, because it was dedicated by the Lemnians, they call Lemnia.

But they report that two of the Pelasgi, viz. Agrola and Hyperbius, who once dwelt under the tower, surrounded the whole of it with walls except that part which was raised by Cymon the son of Miltiades. Of these men I could learn nothing farther by diligent inquiry than that

they migrated from Sicily into Acarnania. But on descending, not to the inferior parts of the city, but below the Propylæa, you will perceive a fountain of water, and near it the temple of Apollo in a cavern, and a temple of Pan. In this cavern it is reported that Apollo cohabited with Creusa the daughter of Erechtheus. But it is said of Pan, that Philippides being sent as a messenger to the Lacedæmonians concerning the irruption of the Medes into Attica, on his return related, that the Lacedæmonians would not be very forward in their march, as it was a law with them not to draw out their forces till the moon had completely filled up her orb; but that he had met with Pan near the Parthenian forest, who promised, in consequence of his regard for the Athenians, that he would assist them in the battle at Marathon. And as the result of this message, divine honours were paid to the god.

But the Areopagus is situated in a direction opposite to the tower, and derived its appellation from Mars first sitting in judgment in this place; the truth of which is evinced from Halirrhothius having been slain by the god, for the reason which we have already explained. And in the same place afterwards, Orestes is reported to have been judged for the murder of his mother. There is an altar too in this place of Minerva Area, or the Deprecatrix, which Orestes, being liberated from his punishment, is said to have dedicated. But with respect to the two silver stones upon which the accusers and defendants sit, they call one of these the stone of *reproach*, and the other of *impudence*. Near this place is the temple of those goddesses which the Athenians denominate *Semnæ the Furies*, but Hesiod in his Theogony *Erinnys*. But Æschylus was the first that represented these divinities with snakes in their hair; for neither the statues of these goddesses, nor any other of the subterranean divinities, are in the least dreadful in their appearance. The statues

likewise of Pluto, Mercury, and Earth, are to be seen in this place: and to these all such persons sacrifice as are acquitted by the Areopagitical judgment; and not these only, but both strangers and citizens.

Again, within the inclosure of the Areopagus there is a sepulchre of Oedipus, whose bones, after diligent inquiry, were, I find, brought hither from Thebes; for I am induced by the authority of Homer, not to believe in what Sophocles relates concerning the death of Oedipus. For Homer says, that Mecisteus came to Thebes, and contended in the funeral games about the tomb of Oedipus. There are other places of judgment also among the Athenians, but not so illustrious as these: one of these they call Parabyston, and the other Trigonon, in which the judges assemble for the most trifling causes of offence; and this last is denominated from its figure. But the Batrachius and Puniceus are so called from their colours; and these names remain even at present. The greatest, however, of all these, and in which they most frequently assemble, is denominated Heliæa. But as to what pertains to the tribunals of capital offences, both other places, and that which they call Palladium, are destined to the judgment of murder. And that Demophon, indeed, was first tried in the Palladium is not doubted by any one, though different reports are circulated concerning his crime. For they say that Diomed, after Troy was taken, returned home in his ships, and that in his passage he drove by night, in consequence of mistaking his way, to the Phalerum. But the Argives that were with him entered the country in an hostile manner, supposing it from the darkness of the night to be some other country and not Attica. Upon this, they report, that Demophon, not knowing that it was an Argive fleet, hastened to repel their depredations, and having slain some of them, seized on the Palladium, and returned home. But as he was returning, his horse

threw down an Athenian, whom he did not perceive, and trampled him to death. For this affair an action was brought against him, both by the relations of the deceased and the republic of the Argives.

But in the Delphinium those are tried who assert that they have committed murder justly; and by the sentence of this tribunal Theseus was acquitted when he slew Pallas and his sons for an insurrection. For before Theseus was acquitted, it was necessary that the murderer should either be banished, or slain in the same manner as he slew. But in the Prytaneum they sit in judgment upon iron, and other inanimate substances, of which the following circumstance appears to me to be the origin. When Erechtheus reigned over the Athenians, the priest who is called Buphonus slew an ox at the altar of Polieus Jupiter, and leaving the ax in that place fled from the country. But the ax was immediately judged and acquitted; and this rite is observed by them every year. Indeed, other inanimate things are reported to have inflicted a just punishment on mankind; but the scimitar of Cambyses exhibits the most beautiful achievement, and the most conspicuous for the glory which it confers on the Athenians. But in the maritime part of the Piræeus, there is a place called the Phreattys, where those that have been once acquitted, if they are found guilty of any other crime, apologise for their conduct from a ship, the judges at the same time sitting on the shore. They report that Teucer was the first who apologised in this manner for the death of Telamon, with which he was charged, though he was innocent of the crime. And thus much I have related for the sake of such as are desirous of being informed concerning the Athenian courts of judicature.

CHAPTER XXIX.

NEAR the Areopagus a ship is exhibited, which was fabricated for the pomp of the Panathenaia. This ship, indeed, may be surpassed by some other; but that which is at Delos surpasses in magnitude all that I am acquainted with, for it contains nine ranges of rowers. But in the Athenian towns which are situated out of the city, and in the roads, there are temples of the gods, and sepulchres of heroes and men. The Academy too is near the walls, which was once a piece of ground belonging to a private person, but is at present a Gymnasium. On entering into this you will perceive an enclosure of Diana, and the images of *Ariste* and *Calliste*, which, as it appears to me, are appellations of Diana, and which opinion the verses of Sappho confirm. There is also a temple of no great magnitude, into which they carry every year, at stated days, the statue of Bacchus the Liberator. And such are the temples which this part contains.

With respect to the sepulchres, the first is that of Thrasybulus the son of Lycus, a man the most useful to the republic, in every respect, of all the Athenians who were prior to, or contemporary with him; and of whom, omitting many things, I shall only mention the following particular. This man, then, subverted the tyranny of those who were called the thirty tyrants, with no more at first than thirty associates from Thebes; besides this, reconciled the jarring Athenians, and persuaded them to continue in peace with each other. His tomb, therefore, is the first. But to his the tombs of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio succeed. Every Athenian too has a sepulchre that died either in naval or land engagements fighting for

his country, except those that fell in the battle of Marathon; for the tombs of these are raised in memory of their virtue in the same place where they died. But all the rest of the Athenians are buried in the way which leads to the Academy; and columns are placed on their tombs, with inscriptions signifying the name and town of each individual.

But their sepulchres first present themselves to the view, who, when they had conquered all Thrace as far as to Brabiscus, were slain by the unexpected attack of the Edoni: and it is reported that these were destroyed by thunder. Among other commanders in the army upon this occasion, Leagrus was one, who was entrusted with the greatest part of the forces, and Decelensis Sophanes, who slew Eurybates the Argive, who was conqueror in five Nemean contests, on account of his bringing assistance to the Æginetæ. And it appears that this was the third army which the Athenians sent beyond Greece. For all the Greeks with general consent warred upon Priam and the Trojans. But the Athenians of their own accord marched an army, first of all into Sardinia, afterwards into Ionia, and the third time into Thrace. Before the sepulchre there is a column in which two knights are seen fighting: their names are Melanopus and Marcatus; and they fell fighting against the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians, in the borders of the Eleusinians and Tanagræans.

There are likewise to be seen here the tombs of the Thessalian knights who, in consequence of their ancient friendship, came to assist the Athenians when the Peloponnesians, led by Archidamus, first entered Attica in an hostile manner; and near these the sepulchre of the Cretan archers is situated. Again, among the Athenian tombs, that of Clisthenes is the first, who instituted that mode of distribution into tribes which is observed at present; and after this the sepulchres of those knights succeed,

who fell in that battle in which the Thessalians underwent the same danger with the Athenians. The Cleonæi, too, are interred in the same place, who came with the Argives into Attica; but on what account I shall relate in my description of the Argives. There is also a sepulchre of those Athenians who, prior to the Persian war, fought against the Æginetæ. But that institution of the people was certainly just which conferred the honour of public burial on servants, and inscribed their names on pillars, if they were such as had vigorously assisted their masters in battle. There are also monuments of other men who fell fighting in different places; but the most illustrious of all are those that fought at Olynthus. Here, too, you may perceive the sepulchre of Melesander, who sailed through the river Mæander to the upper Caria. Those likewise are buried here who fell in the war of Cassander, through assisting the Argives.

But they report that they conciliated to themselves this alliance with the Argives as follows: Divinity having shaken the territories of the Lacedæmonians with an earthquake, the Hilotes departed into Ithome; and this revolt obliged the Lacedæmonians to demand assistance both of others and the Athenians. In consequence of this, they sent chosen men upon the embassy, and among these Cimon the son of Miltiades. But these the Lacedæmonians appointed for the purpose, because they considered them as suspected persons. The Athenians, however, were not moderately moved with the reproach, and immediately made a league with the Argives, who were the perpetual enemies of the Lacedæmonians. Afterwards, when the Athenians were about to engage with the Bœotians and Lacedæmonians, the Argives sent them assistance; and they were nearly victors in this battle, but night coming on hindered their conquest from being complete. The next day, however, by the treachery of the

Thessalian horse, the Athenians were vanquished by the Lacedæmonians.

But of those commanders whose sepulchres are to be seen in that place, Apollodorus the leader of the mercenary troops is by far the most illustrious, who was, indeed an Athenian, but was sent by Arsites, the satrap of Phrygia, by the Hellespont, with assistance, and preserved the city of the Perinthians when Philip invaded it with an army. He therefore is buried in this place; likewise Eubulus the son of Spintharus, and those men whose virtue was not assisted by fortune. For some of these when they had sworn to depose the tyrant Lachares, and others when they had formed plans for abolishing the guard of Macedonians at the Piræeus, before they could accomplish their designs, were cut off by the information of spies. Here too those are buried who fell at Corinth, where the god evinced in no trifling degree, as likewise afterwards in the Leutrican battle, that those who are called bold by the Greeks were nothing without the assistance of fortune. For the Lacedæmonians, who before this had vanquished the Corinthians, Athenians, Argives, and Bœotians, suffered such a mighty loss by the Bœotians alone in the battle at Leuctra.

But after their tombs that perished at Corinth, there is one column erected over many, as the inscribed elegies evince; and some of these died in Eubœa and Chios; some in the extremities of the continent of Asia, and others in Sicily. The names of the commanders, too, are inscribed, except Nicias, and the names of the Platæan soldiers, together with those of the military townsmen. But the reason why Nicias is omitted is, I believe, that which Philisthus assigns. For he writes that Demosthenes, in making a surrender, excepted himself alone, and that when he was delivered up to the enemy he attempted to destroy himself; but that Nicias voluntarily surrendered

himself, and that on this account his name is not inscribed in the column, because, after yielding himself to the enemy, he had not acted in a manner becoming a military character. But in another pillar their names are inscribed who fought at Thrace and Megara, when the Mantinean Arcadians and Eleans, through the persuasions of Alcibiades, revolted from the Lacedæmonians; and likewise their names who before Demosthenes came into Sicily conquered the Syracusans. Their sepulchres, too, are to be seen here that fought in a naval battle about the Hellespont; likewise those that opposed the Macedonians in Chæronea; and those that fought under Cleon at Amphipolis. To which we may add, those that fell at Delium in the borders of the Tanagrians; those that Leosthenes led into Thessaly; those that sailed with Cimon into Cyprus; and those that followed Olympiodorus, who, though no more than thirteen in number, drove out the guard of the Macedonians.

But the Athenians report that they once sent no great army in aid of the Romans, who were carrying on a war against their neighbours, and that afterwards a naval battle taking place between the Romans and Carthaginians, five Attic three-oared galleys came to the assistance of the Romans. In this place, therefore, there is a sepulchre of these soldiers. But we have before related the transactions of Tolmides and his soldiers, and after what manner they died; and if any one is desirous of knowing where they are buried, he will find their sepulchres in the same road with the others. Those men, too, are buried in this place, who, led by Cimon, acquired great martial renown; for in the same day they vanquished the enemy at Eurymedon in a land engagement. Conon likewise and Timotheus are buried in this place, viz. the father and son; both of whom, after Miltiades and Cimon, performed illustrious achievements. Zeno, too, the son of

Mnaseas, is buried here, Chrysippus Solensis, Nicias the son of Nicomedes, who was the most excellent painter of animals of his time, and Aristogiton, who slew Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus. But the orators that are interred here are Ephialtes, who particularly perverted the institutions of the Areopagus; and Lycurgus the son of Lycophron, who, in collecting money for the public treasury, surpassed Pericles the son of Xanthippus by six thousand five hundred talents. The same person likewise procured for the sacred procession of Minerva golden victories, and a hundred ornaments for the virgins. But for the purposes of war he furnished shields and darts; and so augmented the fleet, that four hundred three-oared galleys might be led to a naval engagement. Among the buildings, too, there is a theatre, which was begun by others, and finished by him; and, while he governed the republic, he built docks for ships in the Piræeus, and a gymnasium, which is called the Lyceum. The works however of gold and silver which he dedicated, Lachares during his tyranny plundered; but the edifices remain even at present.

CHAPTER XXX.

Before the entrance into the Academy there is an altar of Love, with an inscription signifying that Charmus was the first of the Athenians that offered a consecrated gift to Love. For they say that the altar within the city, which is called the altar of Anteros, was the gift of the inhabitants, and was dedicated on the following account: Meles the Athenian, being weary of his lover Timagoras, ordered him to throw himself from a rock; and Timagoras, who was not willing even to spare his life, that he

might gratify the youth, ascended the rock, and hurled himself from its summit. But, in consequence of this, the inhabitants ordered that the dæmon Anteros, the avenger of the love of Timagoras, should be worshipped in that place. But in the Academy there is an altar of Prometheus, from which they run towards the city, carrying with them burning lamps; and at the same time, while they are running, contend with each other about keeping the lamps burning; for he whose lamp is in the race extinguished yields the victory to his successor, and he again, if similarly unfortunate, to a third person. But if the lamps of all of them are extinguished, the victory is not left for any one.

In the same Academy, too, there is an altar of the Muses, and another of Mercury; and in the more interior parts there is one of Minerva, and one of Hercules. There is likewise an olive-tree, which is reported to be the second that ever appeared. But not far from the Academy there is the sepulchre of Plato, whose arrival at the summit of Philosophy is reported to have been previously signified by Divinity: for Socrates, in the night before that day on which Plato became his disciple, saw in a dream a swan fly to his bosom. But the swan is a bird celebrated for its harmony. For they report that Cycnus, king of the Ligurians in Gallia Transpadana, was renowned for his skill in music, and that when he died Apollo changed him into the bird whose name he bore. For my own part, indeed, I can easily believe that a man given to music reigned over the Ligurians; but it appears to me incredible that a man should be changed into a bird. But in this part of the region there is the tower of Timon, who alone knew that it is impossible by any means to be happy without shunning the society of other men. A place also is to be seen which they call the Equestrian hill: and they report that Oedipus first came into this part of Attica;

differing by this relation from the poesy of Homer. There, too, you may see the altars of Equestrian Neptune and Equestrian Minerva; and heroic monuments of Perithous, Theseus, Oedipus, and Adrastus. But the grove and temple of Neptune were burnt by Antigonus, who also at another time, invading Attica with an army, injured other parts of the Athenian land.

CHAPTER XXXI.

With respect to the small towns of Attica, each of which is inhabited just as it happens, the following particulars deserve to be noticed. Among the Halimusians there is a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus and Proserpine. But in Zoster near the sea there are altars of Minerva, Diana, and Latona. And they report indeed that Latona brought forth her children in this place, and that unloosing her zone, for the purpose of being delivered, the town from thence received its appellation. But the Prospaltii have also a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and the Anagryasii have a temple of the mother of the gods. Among the Cephalenses the Dioscuri are principally reverenced; for they call them mighty gods. But among the Prasienses there is a temple of Apollo, to which they report the first fruits of the Hyperboreans are sent. For the Hyperboreans commit them to the Arimaspi; the Arimaspi to the Isedonians; the Scythians receiving them from these carry them to Sinope; from thence they are carried by the Greeks to the Prasienses; and lastly the Athenians send them to Delos. But these first fruits are concealed in stalks of wheat; and it is not lawful for any one to behold them.

But among the Prasienses there is a sepulchre of Eri-

sichthon, who returning from Delos, whither he went with sacred concerns, died in the course of his navigation. With respect to Cranaus king of the Athenians, we have before mentioned that he was driven from the kingdom by Amphictyon, his son-in-law; and they report, that, flying with his army to the Lamprenses, he there died, and was buried in the same place. And indeed even now there is also a sepulchre of Cranaus among the Lamprenses. There is also a sepulchre of Ion the son of Xuthus (for he dwelt in Attica, and was the general of the Athenians in the war against the Eleusinians) in that Attic town which is called Potamus. And such is the information which is derived from report.

But the Phlyenses and the Myrrhinusii have altars of Apollo Dionysodotus, of splendour-bearing Diana, of florid Bacchus, of the nymphs Ismenides, and of Earth, whom they call a mighty goddess. But another temple contains the altars of Ceres Anesidora, of Ctesian Jupiter, of Minerva Tithrone, of first-born Proserpine, and of the goddesses which they call Severe. The Myrrhinusii, too, have an image of Colænis; but the Athmonenses worship Diana Amarysia, concerning which appellation I never could find any one able to give a satisfactory account. As far, however, as I can conjecture, Amarynthus is a town of Eubœa, and in this town they worship Diana Amarysia. The Athenians likewise have a festival sacred to Diana Amarysia, and which is in no respect less illustrious than that of the Eubœans; and from hence, I think, the Athmonenses derived this appellation. But I am of opinion that the image of Colænis, which is among the Myrrhinusii, was so called from Colænus. I have elsewhere too observed, that in the Attic towns they report that many reigned over the Athenians prior to Cecrops. The Myrrhinusii, therefore, believe that Colænus was king in Attica before Cecrops. There is also a town called Acharna;

and these worship among their gods Agyieus Apollo, and Hercules, and have an altar of Minerva Hygeia. They likewise call Minerva Equestrian, and Bacchus Melpomenus, and Ivy; for they assert that the ivy was first seen in this place.

CHAPTER XXXII.

But the mountains in Attica are, first, Pentelicus, where there are stone quarries; Parnes, which affords plenty of wild boars and bears to hunters; and Hymettus, which abounds with pastures the fittest of all others for bees except those of the Halizones. For the Halizonian bees are so gentle, that they will go a foraging along with men, and fly about unrestrained, as they are not kept in hives. They make there honey too every where, and this of such a concrete nature that you cannot separate it from the wax. But the statues of the gods in the Attic mountains are as follows: In the mountain Pentelicus there is a statue of Minerva; in Hymettus, of Hymettian Jupiter, together with altars of Jupiter Pluvius and fore-seeing Apollo. But in the mountain Parnes there is a brazen image of Parnethian Jupiter, and an altar of Semalean Jupiter. There is also another altar in the same place, upon which they sacrifice to Jupiter, whom at one time they call Pluvius, and at another time Innoxious. There is likewise a mountain denominated Anchesmus, which is not very large, and in it a statue of Jupiter Anchesmius. But, before I begin a description of the islands, I shall again discourse on the particulars relative to the Attic towns.

The town Marathon, then, is at an equal distance from Athens and Carystus, a town in Eubœa. The Barbarians

(*i. e.* the Persians) first entered on this part of Attica, and, being vanquished in battle, lost certain ships in their flight. But in the plain of this part of the country there is a tomb of those Athenians that fell in the battle, and pillars upon it, in which the names and tribes of the slain are inscribed. There is also another tomb for the Bœotian Platæenses, and for servants; for that was the first time that servants engaged in battle. And there is a tomb, separate from the rest, of Miltiades the son of Cimon, whose valour, when he besieged Paron, not being attended with good fortune, caused him to be condemned by the people, and who died soon after his condemnation. In these plains the neighings of horses are heard every night, and men are seen fighting; and those who purposely come as hearers or spectators into these plains suffer for their curiosity; but such as are accidentally witnesses of these prodigies are not injured by the anger of the dæmons. But the Marathonians highly honour those that have fallen in battle, and give them the appellation of heroes: they likewise venerate Marathon, from whom the town is called, and Hercules, asserting that Hercules was worshipped by them the first of all the Greeks.

But it happened in this battle, as they report, that they received assistance from a man of rustic appearance, who, after he had destroyed many of the Barbarians with a plough, suddenly vanished from their sight; and when the Athenians inquired of the oracle who this unknown person was, the god gave them no other answer than that they should worship the hero Echetæus. But a trophy of white stone was erected in that place. They report, too, that the Athenians buried the Medes that fell in the battle, considering the interment of the dead body of a man in the earth as an action in every respect holy; though, for my own part, I could neither meet with a tomb, nor grave, nor any other vestige of burial, and

therefore I suspect, that they threw them into any ditch or hollow that happened to present itself to their view. But in Marathon there is a fountain which they call Macaria, and of which the following particulars are reported: Hercules, when he fled from Tiryntha, that he might avoid Eurystheus, came to Ceyx king of the Trachinians, who was his friend. But when Hercules retired from the society of mankind, Eurystheus begged that the children of Hercules might be delivered to him. Trachinius, however, who, on account of his imbecility, was fearful of a war, sent them to Theseus at Athens, considering that Theseus was capable of revenging their cause. When, therefore, the boys arrived at Athens in a suppliant habit, they report that the Peloponnesians then first warred upon the Athenians, because Theseus would not, in compliance with the entreaties of Eurystheus, deliver to him the children of Hercules. They further report, too, that an oracle admonished the Athenians that it was necessary one of the children of Hercules should voluntarily devote himself to death, as they could not by any other means obtain the victory. That, in consequence of this, Macaria, the daughter of Hercules by Deianira, willingly surrendered herself to death, enabled the Athenians to obtain the victory, and caused the fountain to bear her name.

There is also in Marathon a lake, which is for the most part muddy, into which the Barbarians flying, fell, through ignorance of the way; and, as they report, many of them were by this means destroyed. Above the lake there are stony mangers of the horses of Artaphernes, and in the stone vestiges of a tent. A river also flows from the lake, whose streams near the lake are adapted to the purposes of cattle; but, not far from their ingress into the sea, they become salt, and are full of marine fishes. But the mountain Pan is at no great distance from the Marathonian plains, in which there is a cavern, whose entrance

is but narrow, but, when you have penetrated its more interior parts, you will perceive cells and baths, that which they call Pan's flock of goats, and stones which very much resemble the shape of goats.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

But Brauron is situated not far from Marathon; to which place they report that Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon fled with the statue of Taurica Diana; and that leaving it here, she came to Athens, and afterwards to Argos. And there is indeed in this place an ancient image of Diana; but who those are among the Barbarians that have the image of Taurica Diana, I shall evince in another part of this work. But to those who are travelling near the sea towards Oropus, Rhamnus presents itself to the view, which is about sixty stadia distant from Marathon. In this place there are habitations for men by the sea; and at a small distance from the sea there is a temple of Nemesis, who of all the divinities is most implacable to insolent and injurious men. And it appears that the Barbarians at Marathon experienced the anger of this goddess; for, treating the opposition of the Athenians with scorn, they brought with them Parian marble for the purpose of erecting a trophy, as if they were certain of being victorious. But of this stone Phidias made a statue of Nemesis: and on the head of the goddess there is a crown adorned with stags, and images of victory of no great magnitude. In her left hand, too, she holds the branch of an ash-tree, and in her right a cup, in which the Æthiopians are carved; but why, I can neither assign any reason, nor subscribe to their opinion who say that the Æthiopians signify the river of the Ocean, because

these people dwell near it, and because Ocean is the father of Nemesis. For the Spaniards and Gauls do not dwell near the river of the Ocean, but near the last navigable sea, in which also the island Britannia is contained.

But the most distant Ichthyophagi dwell above Syene, near the Red Sea; and the bay about which they reside is called Ichthyophagus. But the most just men inhabit the city Meroe, and the plain which is called Æthiopic. These people exhibit the table of the sun; but they have not any sea, nor any river except the Nile. There are other Æthiopians, too, who dwell near the Mauri, and who extend as far as to the Nasamones. For the Nasamones, whom Herodotus considers as the same with the Atlantics, and who are said to know the measure of the earth, are called by those Lybians that dwell in the extreme parts of Lybia, near the mountain Atlas, Loxi. And these people sow nothing, but live on rustic vines. But neither have these Æthiopians nor the Nasamones any rivers; for the water which flows from mount Atlas, though it is parted into three streams, yet no one of the streams forms a river, on account of its being immediately absorbed by the sand. So that the Æthiopians do not dwell near any other river than that of the Ocean. And the water, indeed, which descends from Atlas is turbulent, and crocodiles are produced near its fountain, which are not less than two cubits in length. But these animals, on the approach of men, merge themselves in the fountain; and this circumstance causes many to suspect that this water, emerging again from the sand, produces the river Nile for the Egyptians. But the mountain Atlas is so lofty, that it is said to reach the heavens with its summit, and is inaccessible by reason of the water and trees with which it is on all sides inclosed. It can only therefore be known from that part which looks to the Nasamones; for we do not know of any ship that ever sailed by its mari-

time parts. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind.

But neither has this statue of Nemesis, nor any other ancient statue of the goddess, wings. Among the Smyrneans, however, who possess the most holy images of Nemesis, I perceived afterwards that these statues had wings. For as this goddess principally pertains to lovers, on this account they may be supposed to have given wings to Nemesis as well as to Love. But I shall now relate what is to be seen at the base of the statue, only first of all mentioning the following particular, by way of elucidation. The Greeks report, that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, but that Leda was her nurse; for all the Greeks are unanimous in asserting that Jupiter, and not Tindarus, was her father. But Phidias, being well acquainted with these particulars, represented Helen led by Leda to Nemesis. He added also Tindarus and his sons, and a man whom they call Hippea standing by a horse. Agamemnon, too, Menelaus, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles are present, which last, first of all, espoused Hermione the daughter of Helen. But Orestes is not introduced, on account of his impious conduct towards his mother; though Hermione never deserted him, but even bore him a son. But after these there is to be seen in the base a person called Ephocus, and another young man; concerning whom I could derive no other information than that they were the brothers of Oenoe, after whom the town is called.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Again, the Bœotians formerly possessed the Oropian land, which lies between Attica and Tanagra; but at present it is in the power of the Athenians. The Athenians

indeed fought a long time for its possession, but could not firmly obtain it till Philip, having taken Thebes, bestowed it on them. The city itself, which is called Oropus, is situated near the sea, but does not afford any thing greatly worthy of description. From this city the temple of Amphiaraus is distant about twelve stadia. But it is reported that Amphiaraus, flying to Thebes, was swallowed up, together with his chariot, in an opening of the earth. According to others, however, this took place in the way which leads from Thebes to Chalcis, and which road is now called *the Chariot*. But the Oropians first of all ranked Amphiaraus among the number of the gods; and he was afterwards worshipped by all the Greeks. I can also mention others, that were once men, and were after their death worshipped as gods by the Greeks, and to whom also cities were dedicated; as, for instance, Eleus in Chersonnesus was dedicated to Protesilaus; in Bœotia, Lebadea to Trophonius; and among the Oropians there is a temple sacred to Amphiaraus, and a statue of white stone. But his altar is distributed into five parts: one to Hercules, Jupiter, and Apollo Pæonius; a second, to the heroes and their wives; a third, to Vesta, Hermes, Amphiaraus, and the sons of Amphilochus (for Alcmæon, on account of the slaughter of Eriphyle, is no part of Amphiarus, and does not receive any honour in conjunction with Amphilochus); but a fourth part of the altar is sacred to Venus, Panacea, Jason, Hygia, and Minerva Pæonea; and the fifth to the Nymphs, Pan, and to the rivers Acheloüs and Cephisus.

But the Athenians have an altar in their city to Amphilochus; and in a city of Cilicia, called Mallo, there is an oracle of Amphilochus, which is the least fallacious of all that exist at present. There is also among the Oropians a fountain near the temple, which they call Amphiaraus, but to which they neither sacrifice any thing, nor yet

think it lawful to use the water of it for lustrations or washing the hands; but he who has been liberated from any disease by means of the oracle throws a piece of impressed gold or silver into the fountain and departs; for they report that the god Amphiaraus ascended from hence. But Iophon the Gnossian, one of the interpreters of Attic antiquities, showed me prophecies uttered in hexameter verses by Amphiaraus, and, among others, that oracle which he gave to the Argives when they designed to invade Thebes. It must, however, be remembered, that an opinion, when once received by the vulgar, is vehemently defended by them without any regard to its truth; for, except those who are reported by antiquity to have been inspired by Apollo, it does not appear that any one has been endowed with the power of delivering oracles; since all the rest have either been interpreters of dreams, or have been skilled in explaining the signification of the flying of birds and the entrails of animals. So that it appears to me that Amphiaraus was eminently skilled in the interpretation of dreams; and the truth of this is evinced from hence, that when he was ranked among the number of the gods, he instituted the art of prophesying by dreams. But all those that come to consult Amphiaraus must first be purified; and the purification consists in sacrificing to the god. But, when they sacrifice to Amphiaraus, they also sacrifice to all the rest whose names are inscribed in the same altar. And after the accomplishment of this ceremony they sacrifice a ram to him, and, lying down to sleep on the skin of this animal, expect the revelations of dreams.

CHAPTER XXXV.

But there are certain islands belonging to the Athenians, and at no great distance from their country. One of these is called Patroclus, the particulars of which I have before related. The other is above Sunium, and to those that are sailing towards Attica, is on the left hand. It is reported that Helen drove to this island after her expulsion from Troy, and that the island was on this account called Helena. But Salamis, which is situated opposite to Eleusis, extends as far as to Megara. They report that the name Cychreus was first given to the island, by Salamis the mother of Æsopus; that the Æginetæ were afterwards brought into it by Telamon; and that it was delivered to the Athenians by Phylæus the son of Eurysax, and the grandson of Ajax, when he was made by them an Athenian. But the Athenians reproached the Salaminians many years after, because in the war against Cassander they were designedly more remiss than they ought to have been, and surrendered the city to the Macedonians, rather voluntarily than from compulsion. They also condemned Ascetades to death, who was then the prætor of Salamis; swore that they would always remember his betraying them; and that they would deliver the Salaminians as betrayers to the latest posterity. The ruins of the Forum yet remain, and the temple of Ajax, and together with this a statue of ebony. And the honours indeed which were decreed by the Athenians to Ajax, and his son Eurysax, yet remain; and there is also an altar of Eurysax at Athens.

But a stone is exhibited at Salamis not far from the port, upon which they say Telamon sat when he beheld

the ship which carried his sons to Aulis to the Grecian fleet. And those that dwell about Salamis report, that after the death of Ajax, a flower appeared in their country, for the first time, which was white and somewhat red, but less so throughout than the lily; and that it was inscribed with letters similar to those of the hyacinth. I have heard indeed what the Æolians who inhabited Troy after its destruction reported concerning the judgment about the arms of Achilles, and that after the shipwreck of Ulysses they were brought to the sepulchre of Ajax. But a certain person named Mysus told me the following particulars respecting Ajax; viz. that the parts of his sepulchre which were near the shore were so washed away by the sea, that the entrance to his tomb was by no means difficult; and that I might conjecture his bulk from this circumstance, that the patellæ of his knees, which the physicians call molæ, might vie with those quoits used by the Athletæ who are called Quinquertiones. Indeed I by no means wonder at the magnitude of those Gauls who inhabit the extreme parts of Gallia, which, on account of the continual cold, are almost deserts, and who are called Barenses; for their bodies are not larger than the dead bodies which are shown by the Egyptians. But I shall relate such particulars of this kind as appear to me worthy of inspection.

Among the Magnesians that dwell by the river Lethæus, there was a certain person called Protophanes, who in one day was declared victor at Olympia, both in the pancratium and wrestling. It once happened that some robbers, drawn by the hope of prey, broke into his tomb, and after these other persons, merely that they might behold his dead body. For his ribs were not separated like those of other men, but there was one continued bone from his shoulders to that part which is called by physicians *nothæ*. But among the Milesians, before the city, there is an island called Lade, and which is divided into two small islands.

One of these they denominate Asterius, because Asterius the son of Anax was buried in it; and Anax was the son of Earth. The dead body, therefore, of this Asterius is not less than ten cubits in length. But the following circumstance appeared to me truly admirable. In the upper Lydia, there is a city of no great magnitude, and which is called the Gates of Temenis. In this place, a sepulchre being torn open by a tempest, certain bones were exposed to the view, which, if it were not for their retaining the figure of human bones, no one would believe, from their size, that they were the bones of a man. But a report was immediately spread among the vulgar, that this was the dead body of Ceryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that the throne also belonged to him; for a throne is to be seen fashioned in a prominent stone of the mountain. But they say that the torrent which pours along near this place should be called Ocean; and they farther add, that husbandmen often while they are plowing meet with the horns of oxen, and this because Ceryon is reported to have bred most excellent oxen. But I cannot by any means assent to this opinion, because it appears that Ceryon dwelt at Gades; that there is not any sepulchre of him extant; and that nothing but a tree remains, endowed with a variety of forms. The historians, however, of the Lydian antiquities give a true relation of this affair, viz. that this gigantic corpse is the dead body of Hyllus, but that Hyllus was the son of Earth, and that from him the river was denominated. Lastly, that Hercules, on account of his association with Omphale, called his son Hyllus from the name of the river.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

But in Salamis (that I may return from whence I digressed) there is a temple of Diana, and a trophy in memorial of that victory which Themistocles the son of Neocles obtained for the Greeks. There is also a temple of Cychreus. For when the Athenians engaged in a naval battle with the Medes, they report that a dragon was seen in their ships; and that the oracle of Apollo informed the Athenians, that this was the hero Cychreus. But there is an island before Salamis, which is called Psyttalia. Into this they report that four hundred of the Barbarians descended, and that, the fleet of Xerxes being destroyed, the Greeks passing into this island slew the four hundred. But the island does not contain one artificial statue; though there are several rude images of Pan. But in going from Eleusis to Athens, in that way which the Athenians call the sacred path, the sepulchre of Anthemocritus presents itself to the view, whom the Megarenses, violating the law of nations, most impiously slew, when he was sent as a messenger to announce to them that they should not cultivate that sacred land. But even to the present day, they have been pursued by the avenging anger of divinity; for not even the emperor Adrian, by the benefits which he conferred on the Megarenses, could restore them to their pristine flourishing state in conjunction with the other Greeks.

After the column of Anthemocritus the tomb of Molossus succeeds, to whom the Athenians assigned the command of the army, when they sent assistance to Plutarch in Eubœa. And near this, there is a place which they call Scirum; and which was so denominated on the fol-

lowing account. While the Eleusinians were at war with Erechtheus, a certain prophet came from Dodona, whose name was Scirus. This man established the ancient temple of Minerva Sciras in Phalerum, and falling in battle, the Eleusinians buried him near the torrent. And in consequence of this, both the place and the river are denominated from the hero. But near this, the monument of Cephisodorus is to be seen, who, when he governed the people, vehemently opposed Philip the son of Demetrius and king of the Macedonians. This Cephisodorus joined to himself as associates in war, together with the Athenians, Attalus king of the Mysians, and Ptolemy the Egyptian; but of the independent nations, the Ætolians, and the inhabitants of the Rhodian and Cretan islands. But as the assistance from Mysia, Egypt, and Crete, came for the most part too late, and as the Rhodians, whose force was wholly naval, could not make any great resistance against the heavy armour of the Macedonians, hence Cephisodorus, coming into Italy, supplicated the assistance of the Romans. But the Romans having sent him an army and a commander, so entirely vanquished the forces of Philip and the Macedonians, that they afterwards took away the kingdom from Perseus the son of Philip, and led him captive to Rome. But this Philip was the son of that Demetrius, who, the first of this family (as we have before related), after having slain Alexander the son of Cassander, obtained the kingdom of Macedonia.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

After the tomb of Cephisodorus, Heliodorus Halis lies buried, whose picture is to be seen in the great temple of Minerva. In the same place, too, Themistocles the son of

Poliarchus is buried, and who was the great-grandson of that Themistocles who fought in a naval battle against Xerxes and the Medes. But I shall take no notice of any of his posterity, except Acestium. This woman was the daughter of Xenocles the son of Sophocles and the grandson of Leon, and all her relations, from her great-grandfather Leon, were made *torch-bearers* in the Mysteries, while she was alive. For first she saw her brother Sophocles a *torch-bearer*, afterwards her husband Themistocles, and when he died, her son Theophrastus. And such is the good fortune which she is said to have enjoyed. But on proceeding a little farther, you will perceive the grove of the hero Lacius, and a town which is called from him Lacida. There is likewise in the same place the tomb of Nicocles Tarentinus, who obtained the greatest renown of all the harpers; and an altar of Zephyr, and a temple of Ceres and her daughter. It is reported, that Ceres was hospitably received in this region by Phytalus, and that the goddess in return for his kindness gave him a fig-tree. But the truth of this report is evinced by the following epigram in the tomb of Phytalus. "In this place the royal hero Phytalus once received the venerable Ceres; and she first bestowed on him that mature fruit which mortals denominate the holy fig; but from hence the family of Phytalus is assigned undecaying honours."

But before you pass over the river Cephissus, you will perceive the sepulchre of Theodorus, who as a tragic actor surpassed all of his time. Near the river there are two statues, one of Mnesimachus, the other of a boy cutting off his hair as an offering to the river Cephissus. But that it was an ancient custom with all the Greeks to cut off locks of their hair to rivers you may infer from the poesy of Homer, in which he relates, that Peleus vowed his hair to the river Sperchius, for the safe return of Achilles from

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Troy. Having passed over Cephissus, you will perceive an ancient altar of *mild Jupiter*, upon which Theseus is said to have been purified for slaughtering the progeny of Phytalus. But Theseus slew other robbers, and Sinis, who was related to him by Pittheus his mother's grandfather. In the same place, too, there are the sepulchres of Theodectes, Phaselitas, and Mnesitheus, which last is reported to have been a good physician, and to have dedicated several statues, among which that of Iacchus was one. In this road there is a temple of no great magnitude, which is called the temple of *Cyamitas*. But I cannot affirm with certainty whether this person first of all sowed *beans*, or whether the temple was denominated out of reverence to some hero, because it is not lawful for them to ascribe the invention of beans to Ceres. *But he that has been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, or has read the poems called Orphic, will know what I mean.*

In this place there are two sepulchres, both excellent for their magnitude and ornament; one of these is the tomb of a Rhodian who migrated to Athens; and the other was raised by Harpalus the Macedonian, who, flying from Alexander, passed over with a fleet from Asia into Europe; and when he came to Athens, and was taken into custody by the Athenians, through corrupting with money both the friends of Alexander and others, escaped the danger that threatened him. But prior to this, he had married Pythionece, whose family I am unacquainted with, but who prostituted herself both at Athens and Corinth. Harpalus loved this woman so immoderately, that when she died, he raised a monument for her, the most admirable of all the ancient works which Greece contains. You may here, too, behold a temple, in which there are statues of Ceres, Proserpine, Minerva, and Apollo. At first there was one temple sacred to Apollo; for they say that Cephalus the son of Deioneus, when he came with

Amphitryon to the Teleboæ, first inhabited that island, which is now called from him Cephalenia: and they farther report, that he migrated to Thebes, in consequence of his flying from Athens, for murdering his wife Procris. Ten ages after this, the posterity of Cephalus, viz. Chalcinus and Dætus, when they sailed to Delphos, and consulted the god about their return to Athens, were answered, that they should first sacrifice to Apollo in Attica, in that place where they saw a three-oared galley running on the ground. When, therefore, they drew near to that mountain which is called *Various*, they saw a dragon rapidly proceeding to his retreats; and in this place they sacrificed to Apollo, and afterwards coming into the city were made citizens by the Athenians. But after this there is a temple of Venus, and before it a wall built of rude stone, but which deserves to be inspected.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

But those channels which are called Rheti, are only in their flowing similar to rivers; for their water is that of the sea. And some one, perhaps, may be induced to believe that they flow from the Chalcidican Euripus, and fall from the earth into a more depressed sea. These Rheti are said to be sacred to Proserpine and Ceres; and it is not lawful for any but the priests to take the fish which they contain. And these, indeed, as I understand, are the ancient boundaries of the Eleusinian and Attic lands. But Crocon is said to have possessed the country which is beyond the Rheti, and which is even at present called the kingdoms of Crocon. The Athenians report, that Sæsara the daughter of Celeus was married to this Crocon, though this indeed is not the opinion of all of them, but

only of those that belong to the town of the Scambonidæ. For my own part, I never could find the sepulchre of Crocon; but both the Eleusinians and Athenians exhibit the tomb of Eumolpus. And they report, that this Eumolpus came from Thrace, and that he was the son of Neptune and Chione; but that Chione was the daughter of the wind Boreas and Orithyia. Homer, indeed, makes no mention of his parents, but in his verses he calls Eumolpus a most courageous man. But a war taking place between the Eleusinians and Athenians, Erechtheus king of the Athenians, and Immaradus the son of Eumolpus, fell in the engagement; and the war was finished on these conditions, that the Eleusinians should deliver every thing up to the Athenians, except their Mysteries; for it was agreed that they should have the sole possession of these. And besides this, that Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus should perform the sacred rites of Ceres and Proserpine. Both Pamphus and Homer call these daughters by the same names, viz. Diogenea, Pammerope, and the third Sæsara. But Ceryx the youngest son of Eumolpus survived his father, and is said by the tribe of *heralds* to have descended from Aglaurus the daughter of Cecrops, and Mercury, and not from Eumolpus.

But in the same place there is an heroic monument of Hippothoon, from whom a tribe is denominated, and near it that of Zarex, who is reported to have learned music from Apollo. But to me it appears that he was a foreigner; that he was by birth a Lacedæmonian; and that a maritime city of Laconia was denominated from him Zaraca. For if Zarex was a native of Attica, I am destitute of all information concerning him. But the river Cephissus runs through the Eleusinian land with much greater force than in any other place; and near it there is a place which is called Caprificus, into which Pluto, when he ravished Proserpine, is said to have descended. Near

this river Cephissus, Theseus slew the robber Polypemon, who was called Procrustes. But among the Eleusinians there is a temple of Triptolemus, of Propylea Diana, and of Neptune the father; and likewise a well which they call Callichorus, where the Eleusinian women first instituted a choir, and sang in honour of the goddess. But in the plain which they call Rharium, seeds are said to have been first sown, and fruits to have first increased; and on this account they use the barley which this field produces, and make cakes from it for sacrifices. In this place too a threshing-floor is shown, which is called by the name of Triptolemus, and an altar which is sacred to him. But I am forbid by a dream from relating the particulars contained within the sacred wall; and, indeed, though I were not prohibited in this manner, yet it is well known even to the uninitiated, that it is unlawful to hear what it is not proper to behold.

But the hero Eleusis, from whom the city is denominated, is said by some to have descended from Mercury, and Daira the daughter of Ocean; but according to others, he was the son of Ogygus: for the ancient Eleusinians, as they are unable to refer their origin to any age of mankind, have given occasion to fictitious reports, especially with respect to the race of their heroes. But in the way from Eleusis to Bœotia, Platæensis presents itself to the view, which borders on the Athenians, for formerly the Eleutherenses separated Attica and Bœotia; but after the Eleutherenses came into the power of the Athenians, the mountain Cithæron was considered as the boundary of each country. But the Eleutherenses assumed an Attic name, not from the compulsion of war, but in consequence of desiring the Athenian mode of government, and the hatred which they bore to the Thebans. In this plain, too, there is a temple of Bacchus; and the ancient statue of this god was taken from hence, and brought to Athens;

for that which the Eleutherenses at present possess was made in imitation of this. But not far from hence there is a cavern of no great magnitude, and near it a fountain of cold water. They report, that Antiope concealed in this cavern the twins which she brought forth, and that a shepherd finding the boys, freed them from their swaddling clothes, and washed them in the water of this fountain. But there are even at present some vestiges, both of the wall of the Eleutheræ, and of the buildings; and it is from hence evident, that the town itself was not much above the plain, towards Cithæron.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

But another way leads from Eleusis to Megara; and those that travel this road will perceive a well which they call *florid*. It is related by the poet Pamphus, that Ceres after the rape of Proserpine sat upon this, in the shape of an old woman; and that the daughters of Celeus finding her here, and supposing her to be what she appeared, led her to their mother; and that Meganira entrusted her with the education of her son. But not far from the well, the temple of Meganira is to be seen, and the tombs of those that fell at Thebes. For when Creon, who was the guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles, governed the Thebans, he would not suffer the dead bodies of the slain to be interred; but Adrastus supplicating the assistance of Theseus, and a battle ensuing between the Athenians and Bœotians, Theseus, who was victor, took care that the dead bodies should be carried to the Eleusinian fields, and there buried. The Thebans however assert, that Creon never prohibited the interment of the dead, and that they never fought with the Athenians on that ac-

count. But after the tombs of the Argives there is a sepulchre of Alope, who, after she had brought forth Hippothoon by Neptune, was slain in that place, as they report, by her father Cercyon. Indeed Cercyon is said to have behaved in a brutal manner to all strangers, and particularly to such as were unwilling to contend in wrestling: and at present there is a place not far from the tomb of Alope, which is called the Palæstra of Cercyon. But it is reported that Cercyon slew all those that contended with him in wrestling, except Theseus, who far excelled him in this art. For Theseus first invented the art of wrestling, and it became afterwards established from his instruction; for before this, they employed in wrestling nothing but magnitude and strength of body. And such are the particulars among the Athenians, which are the most celebrated, and the most worthy to be inspected; for from the first I have omitted every thing unbecoming the present history.

But that place which is called the Megaric land borders on Eleusis; and the government of this place, which was left by Pandion to king Pyla, was formerly in the possession of the Athenians. This is evinced by a sepulchre of Pandion, which is in the place; and from this circumstance likewise, that Nisus permitted Ægeus, who was the oldest of that family, to govern the Athenians; and he himself was thought worthy to reign over the Megaric land, and as far as to the borders of the Corinthians. And there yet remains among the Megarenses a haven which is called, from him, Nisæa. But Codrus afterwards reigning, the Peloponnesians warred upon the Athenians; and as they did not exhibit any illustrious achievement in this war, they returned home, and in their way took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it to be inhabited by the Corinthians, and the rest of their allies that were willing. The Megarenses, therefore, having in this man-

ner changed both their manners and language, became Dorians; but they say that the city was thus denominated by Car the son of Phoroneus, who reigned in this country; and that then, for the first time, temples of Ceres were erected among them, and that they were called, by the people Megara. And such are the accounts which the Megarenses deliver of themselves.

But the Bœotians report, that Megareus the son of Neptune dwelt in Onchestus, and that from thence he came with an army of Bœotians in aid of Nisus against Minos; that falling in the engagement, he was buried in the place where he fell, and that the city was from him called Megara, which was before denominated Nisa. The Megarenses further add, that Lelex, twelve generations after Car the son of Phoroneus, came from Egypt, and that during his government the men were called Leleges; that Pyla was the offspring of Cleson the son of Lelex, and Sciron of Pyla, and that Sciron was married to the daughter of Pandion. Likewise, that this Sciron and Nisus the son of Pandion contended for the kingdom, and that they chose Æacus for their judge; that Æacus adjudged the kingdom to Nisus and his posterity, but to Sciron the command of the military affairs. Lastly, that Megareus the son of Neptune, to whom Nisus had given his daughter Iphinoe in marriage, succeeded his father-in-law in the kingdom; for the Megarenses are unwilling to know any thing about the Cretan war, and the capture of the city during the reign of Nisus.

CHAPTER XL.

But there is a fountain in the city which was constructed by Theagenes, of whom we have before made mention, when we related that his daughter was married to Cylon the Athenian. Theagenes, then, during his government, built this fountain, which well deserves to be inspected, both for its magnitude, ornament, and the number of its pillars. The water which flows into it is called the water of the Sithnidan Nymphs. But the Megarenses assert that these Nymphs are natives of their country; that from one of the daughters of these, Megarus was born to Jupiter; and that Megarus escaped the deluge of Deucalion by flying to the top of the mountain Gerania, which at that time had not this appellation. For they report that Megarus, following the cry of the flying cranes, escaped to this place by swimming, and from thence gave the name Gerania to the mountain. But not far from this fountain there is an ancient temple, which contains even at present images of the Roman emperors, and a brazen statue of *Diana the Saviour*, the cause of which appellation was as follows:—After the army of Mardonius had invaded the Megaric land, they were desirous of returning to Thebes, to their leader Mardonius: but the goddess Diana caused them to begin their march by night, and in consequence of this losing their way, they bent their course to the mountainous part of the country; and thinking that an army of enemies was near them, shot their arrows at the neighbouring rock, which emitted a sound like that of groaning: but they supposing that the noise was occasioned by the groans of wounded men, did not desist from shooting till

their quivers were exhausted. But as soon as it was day, the armed Megarenses attacking them unarmed, slew a great part of their forces, and, in memorial of this victory, made an image of *Diana the Saviour*.

But in the same temple there are statues of the twelve gods, as they are called, which are said to be the productions of Praxiteles; for it is certain that he made Diana Strongylion. After this, when you enter the grove of Jupiter, which is called Olympieum, you will perceive a temple well worthy of inspection, though the statue of Jupiter is not finished, owing to the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians, in which the Athenians by their land and marine forces greatly consumed every year both the public and private riches of the Megarenses. The face of this statue of Jupiter is fashioned from ivory and gold, but the other parts consist of clay and plaster. They report, too, that Theocosmus, who was a native of this place, made the statue, and that he was assisted in the work by Phidias. Above the head of Jupiter, the Seasons and the Parcæ are represented; for it is obvious to every one, that Fate is obedient to this divinity, and that he distributes the Seasons in a manner the most becoming and the best. In the back part of the temple there are certain half-finished images, which Theocosmus intended to have adorned with ivory and gold, for the purpose of completing the statue of Jupiter. In this part of the temple, too, there is a brazen prow of a three-oared galley, which the Megarenses report was taken by them in the naval battle against the Athenians, when they contended for Salamis. Indeed, the Athenians confess that Salamis once revolted to the Megarenses; but they say, that being excited by the elegies of Solon, they first of all contended for the island, and afterwards recovered it in war. But the Megarenses on the contrary assert, that certain exiles, whom they call Dorycleii, mixing

with the natives of Salamis, betrayed this country to the Athenians.

But after the grove of Jupiter, when you ascend into the tower, which is even at present called Caria, from Car the son of Phoroneus, you will perceive the temple of *Bacchus Nyctelius;* likewise a temple of *Venus Verticordia;* that which is yet called *the Oracle of Night;* and the temple of *Jupiter Pulvereus,* which is without a roof. But the statues of Esculapius and Hygia were made by Bryaxis. In the same place, too, there is a temple of Ceres, which they call Megaron, and which Car is said to have built during his reign.

CHAPTER XLI.

But on descending from that part of the tower which is situated towards the north, you will perceive the monument of Alcmene, near the temple of Olympian Jupiter. For they report, that she died in the borders of the Megarenses as she was going from Argos to Thebes; and that a dispute arose among the sons of Hercules, whether her dead body should be carried to Argos, or whether it should be buried at Thebes, since the sepulchres of the children of Hercules from Megara and Amphitryon were at Thebes. But when they consulted the Delphic god on this affair, he gave them for answer, that it would be better for them to bury Alcmene in the Megaric land. But from hence one of the historians of the affairs of his country brought me into a place which he said was called *Rhun,* because water once flowed into it from the mountains which hang over the city; but that Theagenes, who then governed the country, turned the course of the water into another place, and that an altar was in that part con-

secrated to Achelous. Near this there is a monument of Hyllus the son of Hercules, who fought in a single contest with Echemus the Arcadian, the son of Aeropus. But who this Echemus was, that slew Hyllus, I shall relate in another part of this history. But Hyllus was buried at Megara. And hence, this expedition may be properly called that of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, during the reign of Orestes.

But not far from the sepulchre of Hyllus the temple of Isis is to be seen, and after it, those of Apollo and Diana. They report that Alcathous dedicated these temples, after he had slain the lion which was called Cithæronius, and which had destroyed many persons, and among the rest Euippus, the son of their king Megareus. For as the oldest of the two sons of Megareus, whose name was Timalco, had been slain by Theseus when he invaded Aphidne with the Dioscuri, they report that Megareus promised his daughter in marriage, and the possession of his kingdom, to him that should slay the lion Cithæronius. That in consequence of this, Alcathous the son of Pelops attacked the lion, and slew him; and that afterwards obtaining the kingdom, he dedicated the temple of Diana the huntress, and of Agræus Apollo. And such are the reports which are circulated concerning these particulars. But for my own part, though I am willing to relate whatever the Megarenses confess to be true, yet I cannot find how all the above circumstances could possibly take place. That the lion Cithæronius, indeed, was slain by Alcathous, I can easily believe; but who ever wrote that Timalcus the son of Megareus came against Aphidne with the Dioscuri? And even admitting that he did come, how can any one believe that he was slain by Theseus? since Alcman, who wrote verses on the Dioscuri, relates, that when they took Athens, and led away the mother of Theseus captive, Theseus himself was not at home. Pindar, too, nearly

relates the same; that Theseus was desirous of being related to the Dioscuri, till he went into Thesprotia in order to procure a wife for Pirithous. But he who applies himself to genealogies will know how stupid the Megarenses are, since Theseus derived his origin from Pelops; and of this the Megarenses themselves are convinced, though they designedly conceal it, because they are unwilling to confess that the city was taken during the government of Nisus, that Megareus his son-in-law succeeded him, and that afterwards Alcathous succeeded Megareus. But it appears that on the death of Nisus, and in consequence of the affairs of the Megarenses being subverted, Alcathous came from Elis. And the truth of this is confirmed from hence, that he entirely raised the walls whose ancient ambit was demolished by the Cretans. And thus much concerning Alcathous and the lion, whether he fell in Cithæron, or in any other place, and concerning the temple of Diana Agrotera, and of Apollo Agræus.

But on descending from this temple, you will perceive the heroic monument of Pandion. And, indeed, we have already evinced that Pandion was buried in that place which is called the rock of Æthyian Minerva. To this the Megarenses perform funeral honours within the city. But the sepulchre of Hippolyte is near this monument of Pandion, of which the Megarenses give the following account: When the Amazons warred upon the Athenians, on account of Antiope being taken by Theseus, many of them fell in the battle; but Hippolyte, who was the sister of Antiope, and who then commanded the Amazons, fled with a few forces to Megara. But being there greatly dejected, on account of the unfortunate event of the war, and particularly from the uncertainty of being able to return Themiscyra safe to her country, she at length died through grief, was buried in the place which I have mentioned, and her tomb is fashioned in the shape of an

Amazonian shield. And the sepulchre of Tereus is not far from this, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion.

But Tereus, as the Megarenses report, reigned about those fountains which are called the fountains of Megaris. It appears to me, however, and marks of the truth of my opinion yet remain, that he reigned in Daulis above Chæronea; for the Barbarians formerly possessed many parts of that country which is now called Hellas, which Tereus, after his cruelty to Philomela, and the destruction of Itys by the women, was not able to subject to his dominion. And Tereus, indeed, slew himself among the Megarenses, who immediately raised a sepulchre for him, to which they sacrifice every year, using in the sacrifice pebbles instead of meal: and they report, that the bird called hoopoop was first of all seen in this place. But the women, when they came to Athens, wasted away through grief and weeping for what they had suffered and done. And it appears to me, that one of these was reported to have been changed into a nightingale, and the other into a swallow, because these birds sing in a sorrowful and lamenting strain.

CHAPTER XLII.

But the Megarenses have another tower which is called Alcathous, to which when you ascend, you will perceive on the right hand the sepulchre of Megareus, who came in the Cretan war from Onchestus to the assistance of the Megarenses. A hearth also is to be seen here of those gods that are called *Prodomean*, to whom they report Alcathous first sacrificed when he was beginning to raise the wall. But near this hearth there is a stone, upon which they say Apollo laid his harp when he assisted Alcathous

in building the wall. But that the Megarenses formerly paid tribute to the Athenians is evident from hence, that Peribœa the daughter of Alcathous was sent, together with Theseus, with a tribute into Crete. The Megarenses indeed affirm, that he was assisted in raising the walls by Apollo, and that the god placed his harp on the stone which I have mentioned. And this report is confirmed from hence, that, if the stone be struck with a pebble, it will render the same sound as a harp when struck, which appeared to me a circumstance of a very wonderful nature; though the Colossus of the Egyptians in Thebes, which is beyond the Nile, and not far from that place which they call the Syringes, appeared to me much more wonderful. For there is even yet in this place the statue of a man sitting, which the vulgar call the monument of Memnon. This statue they report came from Æthiopia to Egypt, and as far as to Susa. And the Thebans, indeed, deny that it is the monument of Memnon, but assert that it is the statue of one of their natives called Phamenophes. I have likewise heard it asserted, that this is the statue of Sesostris, which Cambyses dismembered; and even now the upper part, from the head to the middle of the body, lies on the ground; but the remaining part is yet in a sitting posture, and every day when the sun rises utters a sound similar to that which would be produced from the bursting of the string of a harp or a lyre.

But among the Megarenses there is a senate-house, in that place which, as they report, was once the sepulchre of Timalcus, who, as I have before asserted, was not slain by Theseus. On the top of the tower there is a temple of Minerva, and in it a statue of the goddess, which is wholly of gold except her hands and the extremities of her feet; for these, as well as her face, are fashioned from ivory. There is also another temple of Minerva, who is called *Victory*, and a temple of Æantis, of whom,

as there is no account given by the Megarensian historians, I shall relate a few particulars from my own opinion. Telamon, then, the son of Æacus, married Peribœa the daughter of Alcathous; and it appears to me that his son Ajax, when he succeeded Alcathous in the government, dedicated this statue of Minerva. But the ancient temple of Apollo was constructed from tiles, but afterwards was built by the Emperor Adrian from white stone. The statues, however, of Apollo Pythius and Decumanus are in a most eminent degree similar to the images of the Egyptians. But that statue which they call Archegetes is similar to the Æginetic works, and is wholly formed from ebony. I have heard, too, from a certain Cyprian botanist, that the ebony does not produce either leaves or fruit, and that it is never seen exposed to the sun; that its roots are, indeed, under the earth, which the Æthiopians dig out; and that there are men among them skilled in finding the place of its concealment.

But there is a temple not far from hence of *Ceres Thesmophorus;* and, on descending into this, you will perceive the tomb of Callipolis the son of Alcathous. But Alcathous had also an elder son, whose name was Echepolis, and who was sent by his father into Ætolia to assist Meliager against the Calydonian boar. The youth, however, being slain by the boar, was the cause of the death of Callipolis; for he, on hearing the news of his brother's death, ran to the tower where his father was sacrificing to Apollo, and threw down the wood from the altar. But Alcathous, who did not yet know of the death of his son, and judging that Callipolis had acted in an impious manner, slew his son in his wrath, by violently striking him on the head with one of the pieces of wood which he had thrown down from the altar. But in the way which leads to the Prytaneum there is an heroic monument of Ino, which is defended with a bulwark of stones, and invested with

olives spontaneously produced. But the Megarenses are the only Greeks who assert that the dead body of Ino was cast on the maritime coast of their country, and that Cleso and Tauropilis, the daughters of Cleson, and the granddaughters of Lelex, found and buried it. They further add, that Ino was first called by them Leucothea; and they every year perform a sacrifice to her.

CHAPTER XLIII.

But they likewise report that they have the heroic monument of Iphigenia; for, say they, she died among the Megarenses. But I have heard a far different account of Iphigenia from the Arcadians; and I know that Hesiod, in his *Catalogue of Women*, relates, *that Iphigenia was not slain, but that through the will of Diana she became Hecate.* And, agreeable to this, Herodotus writes, that in Scythia such as have been shipwrecked sacrifice bulls to a virgin, and that the virgin is called by them Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. Adrastus also is honoured by the Megarenses, who, they report, died among them while he was leading back the army from Thebes. And they assert that old age, together with sorrow for the death of his son Ægialeus, were the causes of his death. There is also a temple of Diana, which they report was built by Agamemnon when he came to Calchas, who dwelt with the Megarenses, for the purpose of persuading him to follow him to Troy. They say, too, that in the Prytaneum, Menippus the son of Megareus, and Echepolis the son of Alcathous, are buried.

But there is a stone near the Prytaneum which they denominate Anaclethra, because Ceres (if it may be credited) during her wandering search for her daughter

called upon her in this place. And, indeed, even at present the Megarensian women perform a ceremony which corresponds to this report. But there are tombs within the city of the Megarenses. One of these is the sepulchre of those that died in fighting against the Medes; but another is that which they call Æsymnium, and is an heroic monument. For when Hyperion the son of Agamemnon, and the last that reigned over the Megarenses, was slain by Sandion for his avarice and insolence, they were not willing to be any longer governed by one person, but chose annual magistrates, who should alternately possess the supreme authority. But when Æsymnus, who was not second to any one among the Megarenses in renown, came to Delphos to inquire of the oracle by what means his country might be happy, the god gave him for answer, among other things, that the Megarenses would be prosperous if a number of them consulted together. But they, supposing that the oracle related to the dead, built a place of consultation in this part, in such a manner that the sepulchre of heroes might be contained within its ambit. But on proceeding from hence to the heroic monument of Alcathous, which the Megarenses at present use for the purpose of preserving their writings, two sepulchres present themselves to the view: one of these is said to be the tomb of Pyrges the wife of Alcathous, and the other of Iphinoe the daughter of Alcathous, who died a virgin. At the tomb of this last, girls, prior to their nuptials, perform funeral sacrifices, after the custom of their country, and cut off their hair in the same manner as the daughters of the Delians once sacrificed their hair to *Hecaerga* and *Opis*.

But in the entrance to the temple of Bacchus there is a sepulchre of Astycratea and Mantes, who were the daughters of Polyidus, the son of Cœranus, the grandson of Abas, and the great-grandson of Melampus. Polyidus

himself, indeed, is said to have come to Megara, that he might purify Alcathous from the slaughter of his son Callipolis; and to have built the temple of Bacchus, and dedicated the image, the whole of which is at present concealed except the face, for this is sufficiently conspicuous. A satyr, too, stands by the image, fashioned from Parian stone, and the work of Praxiteles. And this last statue they call *Patrius;* but the other Bacchus they denominate Dasyllius, and is said to have been dedicated by Euchenor, the son of Cœranus and the grandson of Polyidus. But after the temple of Bacchus there is a temple of Venus, and an ivory statue of the goddess, who is surnamed *Praxis:* and this is the most ancient of every thing which the temple contains. There is also to be seen here an image of the goddess Persuasion, and likewise of another goddess, whom they call the *Consolatrix*, both which were produced by Praxiteles. In the same place, too, there is a *Love*, an *Imeros*, and a *Pothos;* which deities, as they differ in their names, so likewise in their operations: and these were made by Scopas.

But near the temple of Venus there is a temple of Fortune; and the statue of the goddess was produced by the art of Praxiteles. And in a temple near to this the Muses are to be seen, and a brazen Jupiter, the works of Lysippus. There is also among the Megarenses a sepulchre of Corœbus, of whom I shall here relate what is commonly reported in verse, though the same things are celebrated by the Argives. When Crotopus reigned in Argos, it is said that his daughter Psamathe brought forth a son from Apollo, and that, vehemently dreading the anger of her father, she exposed the child to perish. In consequence of this, it happened that the infant was torn to pieces by the dogs that guarded the royal cattle; and Apollo, in revenge of his slaughtered son, sent among the Argives a dreadful beast, which was called *Pœna*, and which tore

away infants from the arms of their mothers. But Corœbus, in commiseration of the Argives, slew this monster. However, as the anger of the god still remained, he punished the Argives with a pestilent disease; and Corœbus of his own accord came to Delphos, that he might be punished by the god for the slaughter of Pœna. But the Pythian deity would not suffer Corœbus to return to Argos, but ordered him to carry a tripod from the temple, and that in whatever place the tripod should fall, he should there build a temple to Apollo, and there fix his habitation. The tripod, therefore, happening to fall near the mountain Gerania, he there built a town, which he called Tripodiscus. But the sepulchre of Corœbus is in the forum of the Megarenses; and the elegies inscribed in it contain the above circumstances relative to Psamathe and Corœbus. On the top of the tomb there is a representation of Corœbus slaying Pœna: and these statues appear to me to be the most ancient of all the stone images which I have seen in Greece.

CHAPTER XLIV.

But Orsippus lies interred not far from the sepulchre of Corœbus, who, though he used to contend in gymnastic exercises with his loins girded after the manner of the ancient Athletæ, yet in the Olympic race he ran naked. They report, likewise, that Orsippus after this, commanding an army, took away a part of the neighbouring land. I can easily, indeed, believe that he neglected the girdle in the Olympic race, as knowing that a man naked must run with much greater facility than he whose loins are girded. But when you return from the forum into the way which is called *Straight*, you will see, on turning a little to the

right hand, a temple of *Apollo Tutelaris.* This temple contains an image of Apollo well worthy of inspection; likewise images of Diana and Latona, and other statues, which were made by Praxiteles. Latona is represented with her children. But in the ancient gymnasium, near the gates which are called Nymphades, there is a stone in the shape of a pyramid, of no great magnitude. This pyramid they call *Apollo Carynus;* and in this place there is a temple of Lucina. And such are the particulars which the city contains.

But if you descend to the haven, which at present is called Nisæa, you will perceive the temple of *Ceres the wool-bearer.* And many reasons, indeed, are assigned of this appellation; and, among the rest, that the name was given by those who first took care of sheep in this country. With respect to the roof of the temple, any one may infer that it has fallen down through length of time. And in this part there is a tower, which is called Nisæa. But, on descending from the tower, you will perceive near the sea the tomb of Lelex, who is said to have reigned here after he was driven from Egypt; and it is further reported, that he was the son of Neptune and of Libye the daughter of Epaphus. There is an island, too, near Nisæa, of no great magnitude, to which they report Minos drove the Cretan fleet when he warred upon Nisus. But the mountainous part of the Megaric land borders on the Bœotians, and contains the towns Pagæ and Ægisthæna. But as you go to Pagæ, by turning a little out of the public way, you will perceive a stone pierced with darts, owing to the Medes once shooting at it in the night. In Pagæ, too, there is a brazen statue of Diana the Saviour, which deserves to be inspected. Its magnitude is equal to that which the Megarenses possess, and its figure is the same.

There is also an heroic monument here of Ægialeus the son of Adrastus. For this man, when the Argives

warred a second time upon the Thebans, died in the first engagement at Glisas, and his relations carried him to Pagæ, belonging to the Megarenses, and there buried him; and even at present his monument is called Ægialeum. But at Ægisthæna there is a temple of Melampus Amythaon, and a man of no great magnitude stands on a pillar. They sacrifice to Melampus, and every year, in honour of him, celebrate a festival. But they assert that he neither predicted future events through dreams, nor by any other means. I likewise heard when I was in Erenea, a town belonging to the Megarenses, that Autonoe the daughter of Cadmus, being worn out with grief and lamentations for the misfortune of Actæon, and the other calamities of her father's house, migrated hither from Thebes. And, indeed, the sepulchre of Autonoe is to be seen in this town. But on going from Megara to Corinth, there are several tombs, and among these that of Telephas the piper. And they report that Cleopatra, the daughter of that Philip who was the son of Amyntas, ordered this sepulchre to be made.

There is also a monument of Car the son of Phoroneus. This at first was nothing but a heap of earth, but afterwards, through the admonition of the oracle, was adorned with the stone Conchites. And this stone is alone of all the Grecians possessed by the Megarenses; and many things are fashioned from it in the city. It is exceeding white, and softer than any other stone. But Sciron is said to have been the first who rendered that way which they call Sciron pervious to light-armed soldiers, when he commanded the forces of the Megarenses. But the Emperor Adrian so enlarged it, that opposite chariots might be driven along it with safety and ease. The following fable, too, is circulated concerning the rocks which project in the narrow part of the way. Ino, together with Melicerta her youngest son, threw herself into the sea

from that rock which they call Moluris; for Learchus, her eldest son, was slain by his father. And Athamas is said to have acted in this manner in consequence of being agitated with fury. It is also reported, that he acted with such immoderate rage towards Ino and her children, because he considered her as the cause of the pestilence with which the Orchomenians were afflicted, and of the death of Phrixus; not perceiving that all these happened from a divine cause. They say, therefore, that Ino, flying to the sea, hurled herself, together with her son, from the rock Moluris. But the boy being carried on a dolphin, as it is said, to the isthmus of the Corinthians, among other honours which he received after, his name was changed from Melicerta to Palæmon: the Isthmian games were celebrated on his account.

It is certain, indeed, that the rock Moluris is sacred to Leucothea and Palæmon; but the other rocks which are adjacent to these they consider as execrable, because, when Sciron dwelt among them, he threw from thence every stranger that came upon the coast into the sea; and a marine tortoise is said to have despatched them as they were swimming. But these marine tortoises differ only in their size and feet from such as belong to the land; for their feet are similar to those of the sea-calf. But Sciron himself afterwards underwent the same punishment, being thrown by Theseus into the same sea. On the summit of the mountain, too, there is a temple of Jupiter, who is called Aphesius. And they say that it was so denominated, because when Æacus sacrificed (in consequence of a great dryness happening to the Greeks from immoderate heat), agreeable to a certain oracle, to Panellenian Jupiter, the god after the sacrifice removed the calamity. In the same place there are statues of Venus, Apollo, and Pan. But proceeding a little farther on, you will perceive the sepulchre of Eurystheus; who they report was slain by

Jolaus, and buried here, when he fled from Attica, after having been vanquished in battle by the children of Hercules. And, on descending from hence, you will perceive the temple of Apollo Latous, and, after it, the boundaries of the Megarenses towards Corinth; in which limits, they report, Hyllus the son of Hercules contended in a single contest with Echemon the Arcadian.

BOOK II.

CORINTHIACS.

CHAPTER I.

THE Corinthian region, which is a part of the country of the Argives, derives its name from one Corinthus, who, I find, after the most diligent inquiry, is alone said to be the son of Jupiter by the Corinthian vulgar. For Eumelus the son of Amphilytus, and of the nation of the Bacchiadæ, and who is reported to have written verses, asserts in his history of Corinth (if that work was composed by Eumelus), that Ephyse the daughter of Ocean dwelt first of all in this land; and that Marathon afterwards, who was the son of Epopeus, and the grandson of Aloeus the son of the Sun, flying from the iniquity and reproach of his father, brought a colony into the maritime part of Attica; but that Epopeus dying, he came to Peloponnesus, and having distributed the kingdom among his sons, returned again to Attica. He adds, that from his son Sicyon, the country which was before called Asopia was denominated Sicyonia, and in like manner Ephyræa was called, from Corinthus, Corinthia. But at present none of the ancient Corinthians inhabit Corinth; for the inhabitants consist of such persons as were sent into it by the Romans. But this was owing to a council of the Achaians, of which the Corinthians formed a part, and, together with the rest, warred on the Romans under the command of Critolaus. For this man, after he was ap-

pointed general by the Achaians, persuaded many of those that dwell beyond Peloponnesus to revolt. But the Romans having vanquished the combined forces, both took away the arms of the other Greeks, and demolished the walls of all the fortified cities. And they report that Corinth, which was destroyed by Mummius, who then commanded the Roman army, was afterwards restored by Cæsar, who was the first that established the present form of the Roman government. He is also said to have restored Carthage.

But in Corinth there is a town called Cromion, from Cromus the son of Neptune; and they report, that the Cromyonian boar was nourished here, which is mentioned among the contests of Theseus; and likewise that illustrious robber, who, from bending pitch-trees, was called Pityocamptes. And indeed, even at present, as you walk along the shore, a pitch-tree presents itself to your view. There was also in this place an altar of Melicerta; for they report, that the boy was brought hither by a dolphin, and that Sisyphus meeting with it lying on the ground, buried it in the isthmus, and that the Isthmian games were instituted on his account. But in the beginning of the isthmus, there is a place where the robber Sinis, bending the branches of pitch-trees to the earth, used to bind those he had vanquished in battle to them, in such a manner, that when the trees returned to their pristine shape, the captives were torn in pieces. But Sinis afterwards was lacerated in just the same manner by Theseus. For Theseus freed all that way from robbers, which leads from Troezen to Athens, and not only slew those I have before mentioned, but in Epidaurus, Periphetes, who is considered as the son of Vulcan, and who used in battle a brazen club.

But the isthmus of the Corinthians extends on one side as far as to Cenchreæ, and on the other as far as to the

sea near Lechæum; and this causes the interior region to be a continent. For he who attempted to make Peloponnesus an island, dying before he had finished his work, left nothing more than an isthmus. And it is evident, indeed, where they began to dig; but this was not in its rocky part, for that still remains as it was, and is now a continent. Indeed, this was the only thing that Alexander the son of Philip was not able to accomplish; I mean the digging of Mimas. But he was deterred, by the Pythian oracle, from digging the Cnidian isthmus: so difficult is it for a man to compel things of a divine nature. But it appears to me that the Corinthians were not the first that devised reports about their country, but that this originated from the relations of the Athenians about Attica. And the Corinthians indeed report, that Neptune contended with the Sun about their land; that Briareus acted the part of a mediator between them; and that he adjudged the isthmus to Neptune, and the promontory which is above the city to the Sun: and from hence, they say, the isthmus came to be the property of Neptune.

But the particulars in this place which deserve to be inspected, are a theatre and a stadium of white stone. But on approaching the temple of the god, in one part you will see the statues of those Athletæ who were victors in the Isthmian games; and in another part pitch-trees, many of which are planted in a right line. In the temple itself, which is of no great magnitude, there are brazen Tritons; and in its anterior part, which they call Pronaon, there are two statues of Neptune, and one of Amphitrite, and a sea of brass. But the inward contents were dedicated by a man of the present time, Herodes the Athenian; and there are four horses wholly of gold, except the hoofs, which are of ivory; and near the horses, two Tritons of gold as far as the loins, for the other parts are of ivory. Amphitrite and Neptune stand in a chariot; and an up-

right boy, who is Palæmon, stands on a dolphin: and these also are made of ivory and gold. But in the middle of the base which sustains the chariot, a sea is represented, and Venus rising out of it, and the nymphs called Nereides on each side of her. To these nymphs I know altars are dedicated in other parts of Greece. Groves likewise are dedicated to them under the name of the Poemenides: and a nation which bears this appellation pays divine honours to Achilles. But among the Gabales, there is a sacred temple to the Nereid Doton; and a veil is yet left in it, which the Greeks assert Eriphyle received on account of her son Alcmæon. But in the same base of the chariot of Neptune, the sons of Tyndarus are represented, because these also are considered as the saviours of ships, and such as sail on the sea. There is also a statue here of Tranquillity, and of the Sea, and a horse, whose parts below the breast represent the form of a whale. Likewise Bellerophon, Ino, and the horse Pegasus.

CHAPTER II.

But within the enclosure of the temple, on the left hand, there is a temple of Palæmon. And the statues which it contains, are Neptune, Leucothea, and Palæmon. There is also a recess which they call Adytum, and the descent into which is subterranean. In this place they report Palæmon is concealed: and if any Corinthian or stranger perjures himself in this recess, it is not by any means possible for him to escape the punishment of his perjury. There is also an ancient temple here, which they call the altar of the Cyclops, and in which they sacrifice to a Cyclops. But you will not be able to find where the tombs of Sisyphus and Neleus are situated,

though you should read the verses of Eumelus for this purpose; for though they report that Neleus, when he came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried about the isthmus, yet it is said that his sepulchre was not even shown to Nestor by Sisyphus, and that it was proper it should be similarly unknown to every one. They farther add, that Sisyphus himself was buried in the isthmus, but that his sepulchre was known but to a very few of the Corinthians, who were his contemporaries.

But the Isthmian games suffered no intermission, even when Corinth was subverted by Mummius. For during the time that the city was desolate, the Sicyonians were permitted to celebrate these games. And when Corinth was again inhabited, the honour of celebrating them was transferred to the present inhabitants. But Leches and Cenchreas gave names to the havens of the Corinthians, who they believe were the offspring of Neptune, from Pirene the daughter of Achelous; though in the verses which are called the great Eoeæ, Pirene is said to have been the daughter of Oebalus. But in the Lechæum there is a temple of Neptune, and a brazen statue of the god. And in the way which leads from the Isthmus to Cenchrea, there is a temple of Diana, and an ancient image of wood. But in the Cenchreæ themselves, there is a temple of Venus, and a statue of stone. And after this, in the dam which runs into the sea, there is a brazen statue of Neptune. But in the other boundary of the port, there are temples of Æsculapius and Isis. Opposite, too, to the Cenchreæ, there is a bath of Helen; and water flows into the sea from a rock, both in great quantities and salt, and similar to water when it begins to be heated.

But on proceeding from hence to Corinth, you will perceive several tombs in the road, and among these, near the gate, the sepulchre of Diogenes of Sinope, who is

called by the Greeks *the dog*. But before the city there is a grove of cypresses, which they denominate Craneum. In this there is a fane of Bellerophon, a temple of Venus Melanis, and a sepulchre of Lais, over which there is a lion holding a ram in his fore feet. There is also a sepulchre of Lais in Thessaly; for she is said to have come into Thessaly in consequence of loving Hippostratus. It is reported of this Lais, that she was first taken from Hyccara, a town of Sicily, by Nicias and the Athenians, while she was yet a girl; and that afterwards, being brought to Corinth by him to whom she was sold, she far excelled all her companions in the beauty of her person, and was so much admired by the Corinthians, that even at present they contend about the country of Lais. But in the city there are even yet many illustrious works, some of which are relics of antiquity, and many of them are of posterior origin, being made when the city was in its most flourishing condition.

In the forum, therefore (for in this place there are many temples), there are two wooden statues; one of Diana, who is called Ephesia, and another of Bacchus, both which are gilt in every part except the face; for this in each is adorned with vermilion. One of these statues they call Lysius, and the other Baccheus. But I shall take upon me to write what is reported concerning these statues. It is said, then, that Pentheus, when he treated Bacchus in an insolent manner, among his other injurious actions, dared at last to explore the concealed sacred rites of the women, and that for this purpose he ascended a tree, that he might behold their operations. But as soon as he was discovered by the female votaries of Bacchus, they immediately drew him from the tree, and tore him in pieces. After this, as the Corinthians report, the Pythian oracle ordered them to find out this tree, and, when they had discovered it, to pay the same divine honours to it as

to a god; and that in consequence of this, they took care that these images should be made. There is also in this place a temple of Fortune, and in it an upright statue of Parian stone. After this, there is a temple dedicated to all the gods; and near it there is a fountain, upon which a brazen Neptune stands, having a dolphin pouring out water under his feet. There is also a brazen statue of Apollo, who is called Clarius, and a statue of Venus, the work of Hermogenes the Cytherian. There are besides two statues of Mercury, both of brass, and in an upright posture; but one of these has a temple of its own. But there are three statues of Jupiter in the open air; one of these is without a name; the second they call *Terrestrial*, and the third *Most High*.

CHAPTER III.

But in the middle of the forum there is a brazen Minerva, in the base of which there are statues of the Muses. And beyond the forum there is a temple of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who succeeded Cæsar, by whom Corinth was restored to its present condition. But when you leave the forum, and proceed towards Lechæum, you will perceive vestibules, and over them two gilt chariots, one of which bears Phaeton the offspring of the Sun, and the other the Sun himself. A little beyond the vestibules, too, you will perceive on the right hand a brazen Hercules; and after this, there is an entrance to the water of Pirene, concerning which they report, that the nymph Pirene, when she bewailed her son Cenchrias, who was slain by Diana through his imprudence, shed such an abundance of tears, that she was changed into a fountain. But the fountain is adorned with white stone, and con-

tains certain small cells, from which, as caverns, a water pleasant to the taste flows into an open bason, and into which, they report, the Corinthian brass, while it is red hot, is merged. But near the Pirene there is a statue of Apollo, and an enclosure which contains a picture of the bold enterprise of Ulysses against the suitors.

Again, in the straight road which leads to Lechæum, you will perceive a brazen Mercury in a sitting posture, and by the side of him a ram, because Hermes above all the gods appears to guard and increase herds of sheep, agreeable to these lines of Homer in the Iliad:

> ——— of Phorbas *rich in sheep* the son,
> By Hermes most of all the sons of Troy
> Beloved, and tutor'd in the arts of gain.

But I shall not relate what I know from the mysteries of the mother of the gods, concerning Mercury and the ram. But after the statue of Mercury, there are statues of Neptune and Leucothea, and of Palæmon sitting on a dolphin. There are baths, too, among the Corinthians in many places, some of which were raised at the public expense, and others were built by the emperor Adrian. But the most celebrated of all is that which is near the statue of Neptune. This was made by Eurycles, a Spartan, who adorned it with various kinds of stone, and with that which in Crocea is dug out of a part of the Laconic region. But on the left hand of the entrance there is a statue of Neptune, and after it one of Diana in the habit of a huntress. There are many fountains, too, in the city, as the Corinthians have water in abundance; and among these, that which the emperor Adrian deduced from Stemphylus.

But the particulars most worthy of inspection are, the water near the statues of Diana and Bellerophon, which flows through the hoof of the horse Pegasus; and on

going from the forum to Sicyon, in the road on the right hand, a temple and brazen statue of Apollo. At a small distance, too, from hence there is a fountain which is called the fountain of Glauce; for she threw herself into this, as they report, in consequence of believing that this water would be an antidote to the poisons of Medea. But above this fountain there is a building which they call Odeum. And near it is the sepulchre of the sons of Medea, whose names were Mermerus and Pheres. But they are reported to have been buried under stones by the Corinthians, on account of the benefits which they received from the mother of Glauce. However, as their death was violent and unjust, the infant children of the Corinthians were cut off on the account, till, being warned by an oracle, the Corinthians sacrificed every year to them, and dedicated an image of Fear. And this statue even remains at present, and is fashioned in the resemblance of a woman of a most dreadful aspect. But when Corinth was subverted by the Romans, and the ancient Corinthians were extinct, the inhabitants no longer retained the ancient mode of sacrificing, and the boys no longer shaved their hair, nor clothed themselves in black. But Medea then coming to Athens, was married to Ægeus; but afterwards, her stratagems against Theseus being detected, she fled from Athens into that part of Asia which was then called Aria, and caused the people to be called after her name, Medes.

But they report, that the son which fled with her to the Arians was the offspring of Ægeus, and that his name was Medus. Hellanicus, however, calls him Polyxenus, and says that his father was Jason. But there are certain verses among the Greeks, which they call Naupactia; and in these it is asserted, that Jason, after the death of Pelias, migrated into Corcyra, and that his eldest son Mermerus, hunting in the opposite continent, was slain by a lioness;

but these verses do not make any mention of Pheres. But Cinæthon the Lacedæmonian (for he also genealogised in verse) asserts, that Jason had by Medea a son Medus, and a daughter Eriopis, nor does he relate any farther pertaining to the boys. Eumelus, however, says, that the Sun gave the Asopian region to Aloeus, and Ephyræa to Æetes; that Æetes, departing to the Colchi, entrusted his kingdom to Bunus, and that Bunus was the son of Mercury from Alcidamea. That besides this, when Bunus died, Epopeus the son of Aloeus obtained the government of the Ephyræans; and that afterwards, when Corinthus the son of Marathon died without leaving any children behind him, the Corinthians called Medea from Jolcos, and delivered to her the kingdom. Lastly, that Jason reigned through her in Corinth, and that Medea indeed bore him children, but always concealed them when born in the temple of Juno, thinking that by this means they would become immortal. But when she found in the end that she was deceived in her expectations, and the affair was discovered by Jason, he not only refused to pardon her for the action, but left her, and returned to Jolcos: and that Medea, in consequence of this departing, delivered up the kingdom to Sisyphus. And such is the information which I have obtained concerning these particulars.

CHAPTER IV.

But not far from the sepulchre there is a temple of Minerva Chalinitis: for they report, that Minerva, more than any of the other divinities, assisted Bellerophon both in other respects, and particularly that having tamed Pegasus, she delivered him to Bellerophon, and placed the bridle on him herself. But the statue of the goddess is

wooden, except her face, hands, and the extremities of her feet, which are formed from white stone. I am persuaded, however, that Bellérophon never reigned over the Corinthians, but that he lived with Proetus and the Argives, and whoever reads Homer carefully will be of the same opinion. It appears, also, that when Bellerophon migrated into Lycia, the Corinthians did not the less obey those who reigned in Argos or Mycena; and that they did not privately send any leader to Troy, but joined themselves with the Mycenæans, and such others as followed the military expedition of Agamemnon. Sisyphus, indeed, was not only the father of Glaucus, who was the father of Bellerophon, but he had also another son called Oryntion, and besides him Thersander and Almus. But Phocus was the son of Oryntion, though he is reported to have been the offspring of Neptune. This Phocus migrated into that part of Thyræa which is now called Phocis; but Thoas, the younger son of Oryntion, remained in Corinth. Of this Thoas, Demophon was the offspring; of Demophon, Propodas; and from Propodas, Doridas and Hyanthidas descended.

But the Dorienses during the reign of these warred on the Corinthians, having for their commander Aletes the son of Hippotas, the grandson of Phylas, and the great-grandson of Antiochus the son of Hercules. Doridas, therefore, and Hyanthidas, having delivered the kingdom to Aletas, remained at Corinth; but the common people of the Corinthians were expelled from their country, in consequence of being vanquished by the Dorienses. But Aletes himself and his posterity held the kingdom for five ages, till the æra of Bacchis the son of Prumnis. And from him those who are called the Bacchiadæ reigned five other generations, as far as to Telestes the son of Aristodemus. And Telestes, indeed, was cut off through hatred by Arieus and Perantas, by whose death the government

came to an end; for afterwards the Prytanes, who descended from the Bacchiadæ, reigned every year, till Cypselus the son of Eetion, taking upon him the supreme authority, expelled the Bacchiadæ. But Cypselus was the grandson of Melan the son of Antasus. And Melan from a town called Gonussa, which is above Sicyon, warred, in conjunction with the Dorienses, upon Corinth; in consequence of which, Aletes was warned by an oracle to migrate into another part of Greece, but afterwards neglecting the admonition of the oracle, he received Melan as his associate. And such are the particulars which I have discovered respecting the Corinthian kings.

But the temple of Minerva *the Bridler* is not far from the theatre; and near it there is a wooden statue of Hercules, which they report was the work of Dædalus. And the works of Dædalus are, indeed, rude and inelegant to the view, but at the same time possess something of a divine influence. But above the theatre there is a temple of Jupiter, who is called in the Roman tongue Capitolinus, and whom you may denominate in Greek Coryphæus. And at a considerable distance from this theatre there is an ancient gymnasium, and a fountain which they call Lerna. This fountain is surrounded with pillars, and is accommodated with seats for the use of such as come hither in summer to be refrigerated. But near the gymnasium there are two temples of the gods, one of Jupiter, and the other of Esculapius. And with respect to the statues, those of Esculapius and Hygia are of white stone, but that of Jupiter is of brass. But on ascending into the Acrocorinthus (which is the summit of a mountain above the city, and which, according to the relation of the Corinthians, was adjudged by Briareus to the Sun, and was afterwards given by the Sun to Venus) you will perceive two temples of Isis, one of which they call Pelagias, and the other Ægyptia. There are, likewise, two temples

of Serapis, one of which is without any particular epithet, but the other is called Serapis Canopitanus. After these there are altars of the Sun, and temples of Necessity and Violence, into which it is not lawful to enter. Above these there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, and a pillar and a throne, both which are of stone. But the statues in the temples of the Fates, Ceres and Proserpine, are not apparent. In the same part, too, there is a temple of Bunæan Juno, which was dedicated by Bunus the son of Mercury, and from whence the goddess was called Bunæa. But on ascending to the Acrocorinthus you will perceive a temple of Venus, in which there is a statue of the goddess armed, and statues of the Sun and Love, holding each of them a bow.

CHAPTER V.

But the fountain which is behind the temple is said to have been given by Asopus to Sisyphus: for Sisyphus, knowing that Ægina the daughter of Asopus was ravished by Jupiter, did not, as they report, divulge it till he possessed the fountain of water in the Acrocorinthus. But after he had received this present from Asopus he divulged the affair to him; for the discovery of which (if it may be believed) he is said to be punished in Hades. I have also heard it asserted, that this fountain is Pirene, and that the water flows from it into the city. But the river Asopus commences from Phliasia, flows through Sicyonia, and pours itself into the sea near Corinth. And the Phliasians report, that the daughters of Asopus were Corcyra, Ægina, and Thebe; and that from Corcyra and Ægina those islands which were called Scheria and Oe-

none received new appellations; but that the island under Cadmea was called, from the third, Thebe. The Thebans, however, dissent from this account; and assert that Thebe was the daughter of the Bœotian, and not of the Phliasian Asopus. But as to other particulars respecting the river, both the Phliasians and Sicyonians assert that the water is not native, but foreign; for they say that the river Mæander, falling from the Celænæ through Phrygia and Caria, pours itself into the sea near Miletus, proceeds afterwards to Peloponnesus, and last of all forms the Asopus. I remember, too, to have heard the Delians assert that another river, which they call the Inopus, flows into their country from the Nile. And it is even asserted of the Nile, that it is no other than the Euphrates, which, having concealed itself in a marsh, ascends above the Æthiopians, and becomes the Nile. And thus much I have heard concerning the Asopus.

But on turning from the Acrocorinthus towards the mountainous part of the country, you will perceive the Teneatic gate, and a temple of Lucina; and the town called Tenea is distant from hence about sixty stadia. The inhabitants of this town assert of themselves that they are Trojans, who were led captive by the Greeks from Tenedos, and that this place was given to them by Agamemnon: and on this account they venerate Apollo above all the other gods. But as you proceed from Corinth, not to the most illustrious parts, but towards Sicyon, you will perceive a burnt temple on the left hand, not far from the city. Several wars have indeed happened about Corinth; and it seems probable that both the temples, and other edifices beyond the walls, have been consumed by fire. But they report that this temple was the temple of Apollo, and that it was burnt by Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. Afterwards, however, I heard that the Co-

rinthians raised this temple to Olympian Jupiter, and that it was suddenly destroyed by a fire, the origin of which could never be discovered.

But the Sicyonians (for they in this part border on the Corinthians) assert concerning their origin, that Ægialeus was the first native of this place, and that during his reign that part of Peloponnesus which is yet called Ægialus was thus denominated by him; that he first built the city Ægialea in a plain, and that a tower then stood in the place which is now occupied by the temple of Minerva. They farther add, that Europa descended from Ægialeus, and Telchin from Europa, and that Apis was the son of Telchin. But the power of this Apis, before Pelops came to Olympia, so abundantly increased, that all the region within the isthmus was called from him Apia. But Thelxion was the son of Apis, Ægyrus of Thelxion, Thurimachus of Ægyrus, and Leucippus of Thurimachus. Leucippus, however, had no male offspring, but had a daughter called Calchinia, with whom Neptune is said to have been familiar, and to have had a son by her, who was educated by Leucippus, and was his successor in the kingdom. But the name of this youth was Peratus, of whose son, Plemnæus, certain particulars are reported which appear to me eminently worthy of admiration. For all his children, as soon as they were born and began to cry, were immediately cut off; but Ceres, commiserating the misfortune of Plemnæus, came in the habit of a stranger to Ægialea, and educated his son Orthopolis, who was then just born. But Chrysorthe was the daughter of Orthopolis; and they believe that she had a son by Apollo, whose name was Coronus. And Corax was the son of Coronus, and likewise a younger son whose name was Lamedon.

CHAPTER VI.

But Corax dying without children, Epopeus on this account came from Thessaly, and obtained the government. And they report, that during his reign an hostile army for the first time entered into this region, which prior to this had enjoyed continual peace. But the cause of this war was as follows: Antiope the daughter of Nycteus was celebrated by the Greeks for her beauty; though it is reported that she was not the daughter of Nycteus, but of the river Asopus, which is the boundary of the Theban and Platæan land. This Antiope Epopeus ravished, though I do not know whether this was occasioned by his seeking a wife, or whether he was impelled to this from the first by daring impudence. But when the Thebans came to revenge this injury with arms, a battle ensuing, both Nycteus and Epopeus were wounded in the engagement, though the latter was victorious. And Nycteus, indeed, was carried to Thebes ill, where he shortly after died, and left the government of Thebes for the present to his brother Lycus, to whose care he also committed Labdacus the son of Polydore, and the grandson of Cadmus, and who at that time was under his protection. This Lycus, therefore, Nycteus entreated to punish Epopeus, by leading a greater army into Ægialea, and that he would also punish Antiope, if he could by any means take her.

In the mean time Epopeus sacrificed to the gods on account of his victory, and raised a temple in honour of Minerva; and, when the work was complete, suppliantly implored the goddess to afford him some manifest token whether the temple was finished agreeable to her will.

But they report that, after he had prayed, an olive immediately flourished before the temple. Shortly after this Epopeus died, through neglecting his wound, so that Lycus had no longer any occasion to carry on the war. For Lamedon, who succeeded Epopeus in the kingdom, gave up Antiope to Lycus, who, when she was brought back to Thebes, was delivered in the way which leads to Eleutheræ. And upon this event Agis the son of Amphiptolemus composed the following lines: "Antiope, the daughter of the profoundly whirling river Asopus, brought forth Zethus, and the divine Amphion, which she conceived from Jupiter, and Epopeus the pastor of the people." Homer, however, refers them to a more illustrious origin, and asserts that they were the first inhabitants of Thebes, separating, as it appears to me, the city, which is situated beneath, from Cadmea. But Lamedon, when he obtained the government, married Pheno, an Athenian, and the daughter of Clytius; and afterwards engaging in war against the Achæans, Archandrus and Architeles, he entered into an alliance with the Attic Sicyon, by marrying his daughter Zeuxippe; and through his assistance obtained the empire of Sicyonia, and of that city which was before called Ægiale, and is now denominated Sicyon.

But they report, that Sicyon himself was not the offspring of Marathon the son of Epopeus, but of Metion the son of Erechtheus: and Asius also assents to this account. For, according to Hesiod, Sicyon was the son of Erechtheus; but according to Ibycus, of Pelops. But Chthonophyle was the offspring of Sicyon: and they report, that Polybus was the son of Chthonophyle and Mercury; and that afterwards Chthonophyle was married to Phlias the son of Bacchus, by whom she had a son called Androdamas. But Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa to Talaus the son of Bias, who reigned over the Argives; and Adrastus, flying from Argos, came to Polybus in

Sicyon, and afterwards, on the death of Polybus, obtained the government of Sicyon. Adrastus, however, returning to Argos, Janiscus, the grandson of that Clytius whose daughter was married to Lamedon, came from Attica, and took possession of the kingdom. But on the death of Janiscus, Phæstus reigned, who is said to have been one of the sons of Hercules. And Phæstus, in consequence of an oracle, migrating into Crete, Zeuxippus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis, is reported to have succeeded to the government. But on the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army to Sicyon, and warred upon Hippolytus the son of Rhopalus, and the grandson of Phæstus. And Hippolytus distrusting his own forces, promised that he would be subservient to Agamemnon and the Mycenæans. But Lacestades was the son of this Hippolytus and Phalces of Temenus, who, invading Sicyon by night, together with the Dorienses, did not commit any injury, as being a descendant of Hercules, but took upon himself a part of the government; and from him the Sicyonians became Dorians, and formed a part of the Argives.

CHAPTER VII.

But when Demetrius the son of Antigonus destroyed the city, which was situated in a plain, he joined the city which now remains to the ancient tower. And indeed it is not easy to find by inquiry why the affairs of the Sicyonians came to be in such an imbecile condition. We may, therefore, very properly adopt on this occasion what Homer says concerning Jupiter:

> So Jove decrees, resistless lord of all!
> At whose command whole empires rise or fall.
> He shakes the feeble props of human trust,
> And towns and armies humbles to the dust.

But while the Sicyonians were in this enervated condition the city in a short time became desolate through an earthquake, in consequence of which many productions worthy of inspection were destroyed. The cities, too, about Caria and Lycia were injured by the same calamity; and the island Rhodes, in particular, was so vehemently shaken, that the prophecy of the Sibyl with respect to this place was fully accomplished.

But on proceeding from Corinth to Sicyonia you may perceive the sepulchre of Lycus the Messenian, whoever he was; for I cannot find any Messenian Lycus, who exercised himself in the Quinquertium, or who obtained the victory in the Olympic games. And this tomb is nothing but a heap of earth; for the Sicyonians bury most of their dead in this manner, viz. by placing the body in the earth, and afterwards raising pillars with a stony base over the tomb; and on these pillars they place a summit, almost in the same manner as eagles are fixed in temples. But they add no other inscription than that of the name of the deceased; and omitting to mention his country, they exhort the passenger to wish well to the body. But after the sepulchre of Lycus, having passed over the Asopus, Olympium presents itself to the view; and turning a little to the left hand, you will perceive the sepulchre of Eupolis the Athenian, who was a writer of comedies. And on proceeding from hence, and turning, as it were, into the city, you may see the monument of Xenodice, who died in child-birth. This sepulchre is not constructed after the manner of the country, but contains a place for a painting: and the picture, indeed, is particularly worthy of inspection. On leaving this place you will find a sepulchre, raised for those Sicyonians who died at Pellene, at the Dyme of the Achæans, at Megalopolis, and at Selasia; and of whom I shall discourse more largely hereafter.

But near the gate there is a fountain in a cavern, the water of which does not ascend from the earth, but flows from the top of the cavern; and on this account the fountain is called Stazusa. But in the tower, which exists at present, there is a temple of Fortune Acræa, and after it of the Dioscuri: and the statues of these divinities are formed from wood. But in the scene of the theatre, which is built under the tower, there is an image of a man holding a shield, which they report is Aratus the son of Clinias. After the theatre, too, there is a temple of Bacchus; and the statue of the god is fashioned from ivory and gold, and near it there are Bacchæ of white stone. These Bacchæ are said to have been holy women, who were inspired by Bacchus. But the Sicyonians have other statues in their arcane recesses; and these on one night in every year they carry into the temple of Bacchus, from that place which they call Cosmeterium; and at the same time bring with them lighted torches, and sing during the procession the hymns of their country. But the leader of this procession is a statue which they call Baccheus, and which, according to report, was dedicated by Androdamas the son of Philas. After this follows another statue, which the Theban Phanes, warned by the Pythian deity, brought from Thebes. But this Phanes came to Sicyon at the same time as Aristomachus the son of Cleodamus: for not acting agreeable to the oracle, he neglected going to Peloponnesus at the proper time.

But on proceeding from the temple of Dionysius to the forum you will perceive on the right hand a temple of Diana Limnæa, the roof of which has evidently fallen off through length of time. But with respect to the statue of the goddess, they are neither able to give any information whether it was brought here from some foreign part, nor how it came to be destroyed. In the forum you will perceive a temple of the goddess Persuasion, but which is

likewise without a statue. This goddess came to be worshipped by them on the following account: After Apollo and Diana had slain the serpent Python, they came to Ægialea, for the sake of purification, but in consequence of being terrified in this place (and from which circumstance they at present call the region *Phobus*, or *dread*), they came to Crete, to Carmanor; and the inhabitants of Ægialea being afflicted with a pestilent disease, the priests admonished them to supplicate Apollo and Diana. Hence they sent seven boys, and as many virgins, in a suppliant manner to the river Sytha; in consequence of which, as they report, the divinities were persuaded to come into the tower; and in the place where they first came a temple was dedicated to the goddess Persuasion.

But rites are even at present performed similar to these. For on the festival of Apollo certain boys come to the river Sytha, and carry the images of Apollo and Diana into the temple of the goddess Persuasion, and afterwards bring them into the temple of Apollo. And this temple stands in that place which is at present the forum; but it is said to have been first fabricated by Proetus, because his daughters were in that place liberated from the fury which possessed them. They add farther, that Meleager dedicated in this temple the spear with which he slew the Calydonian boar, and that the pipes of Marsyas are likewise contained here. For after the calamity which befel Silenus, the river Marsya brought these pipes to the river Meander, which, being thrown from hence into the Sicyonian land, were found by a shepherd, and dedicated to Apollo. But not one of these consecrated gifts yet remains; for they were all burnt together with the temple: but the temple and statue, which exist at present, were dedicated by Pythocles.

CHAPTER VIII.

But the fane which is near the temple of the goddess Persuasion, and which was consecrated by the Roman emperors, was formerly the house of the tyrant Cleon. For Clisthenes, the son of Aristonymus, and the grandson of Pyrrho, tyrannised while the Sicyonians yet inhabited the lower city: but Cleon ruled in that part which is at present the city. Before this building there is an heroic monument of Aratus, who, in the renown of his actions, surpassed all the Grecians; and of whom the following particulars are related: After the death of Cleon, the desire of tyrannising raged to such a degree, that two persons at the same time, Euthydemus and Timoclidas, began to govern. The people, however, having ejected these, placed in their stead Clinias the father of Aratus. But Clinias dying not many years after, Abantidas began to tyrannise: and Aratus during his government, either because he was ejected by Clinias, or because it was his own will, went into banishment. Abantidas therefore was slain by the natives; and Pascas the father of Abantidas immediately usurped the tyranny; but he in his turn was slain by Nicocles, who then tyrannised himself. But Aratus attacking this Nicocles with a band of Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries, when he came to the walls by night, deceived one part of the guard, and vanquished the other part, and thus became master of the walls. In consequence of this, as soon as it was day, he collected the people together, and ran with great celerity to the palace of the tyrant, which he took without much difficulty. Nicocles, however, had privately withdrawn himself. But then Aratus delivered to the Sicyonians a free admini-

stration of the city; and having restored to the exiles their houses, and such of their possessions as were destined to be sold, he by this means took away all occasion of disagreement and strife.

The same person, too, when the Macedonians (Antigonus managing the affairs of Philip the son of Demetrius) were formidable to all the Greeks, joined the Sicyonians, though they were Dorians, with the council of the Achaians; and being immediately declared general by the Achaians, led his army against the Amphissensian Locrians, and, warring on the Ætolians, depopulated their country. But as Antigonus possessed Corinth, which he guarded with a band of Macedonians, Aratus by a sudden invasion astonished the Macedonians, and, coming to an engagement with them, slew, among many others, Persæus the commander of the guard, who was the philosophic pupil of Zeno the son of Mnaseas. Aratus, therefore, having liberated Corinth, associated to himself the Epidaurii and Troezenii, who inhabit the Argolic coast, and the Megarenses who dwell beyond the isthmus. And Ptolemy, indeed, joined to himself the Achaians, as his associates in war; but the Lacedæmonians following their king Agis, who was the son of Eudamidas, by a sudden incursion seized on Pellena. However, in consequence of Aratus coming against them, they were vanquished, and, leaving Pellena, returned home on certain conditions. But Aratus, when the Peloponnesian affairs were in a prosperous condition, saw with indignation that the Piræeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium were in the possession of the Macedonians; and, as there was no hope of being able to expel them from these places by force, he persuaded Diogenes, the commander of the guards, to surrender these places to him for one hundred and fifty talents; and, besides this, he gave a sixth part of this sum to the Athenians. He also persuaded Aristomachus,

who reigned in Argos, to introduce a democracy among the Argives, and join it with the convention of the Achaians. And, besides this, he took Mantinea, which was occupied by the Macedonians. The event of things, however, is far from always succeeding agreeable to the expectations of mankind; for Aratus was obliged to join himself to Antigonus king of the Macedonians as his associate in war, and this on the following account.

CHAPTER IX.

Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, and the grandson of Cleonymus, having obtained the government of Sparta, imitated in his conduct Pausanias, who both desired the tyranny, and was not satisfied with the established laws. However, as he was more ferocious than Pausanias, and not so desirous of preserving his life, he very soon, through pride and audacity, brought all his intentions to a prosperous conclusion. For in another family he destroyed, through poison, the king Eurydamidas, while he was yet a boy, and this by means of the Ephori; and transferred the government to his brother Epiclidas. And still farther, having subverted the authority of the senate, he instituted in their stead the Patronomi, or those who bestowed a paternal attention to the affairs of their country. After this, through a desire of greater concerns, and of the government of all Greece, he first of all warred on the Achaians, either hoping, that, if they were conquered, they would be his associates in war, or that they would be unwilling to impede his undertakings. In consequence of this, having come to an engagement at Dyme above Patræ, he vanquished the Achaians, who were then commanded by Aratus. He, therefore, compelled this Aratus,

who feared for the Achaians and Sicyon itself, to banish Antigonus. For Cleomenes, when the peace with Antigonus was violated, among many things which he openly transacted contrary to the conditions of the league, expelled the Megalopolitans from their kingdom. Hence, when Antigonus passed over into Peloponnesus, the Achaians, under the command of Cleomenes, betook themselves to Selasia, which they brought into subjection, and took Lacedæmon itself.

But Antigonus restored to the Lacedæmonians and Achaians their ancient mode of government: and of the children of Leonidas, Ephiclidas fell in the engagement; but Cleomenes, flying into Egypt, was at first most honourably received by Ptolemy, but was afterwards confined in chains for exciting the Egyptians against the king. However, he escaped from his confinement, and was the occasion of much disturbance to the Alexandrians; but being in the end retaken, he destroyed himself. The Lacedæmonians, in consequence of this, finding with great pleasure that they were free, would not any longer be governed by a king, but established that form of government which remains at present. But Antigonus continually exhibited tokens of his benevolence to Aratus, as to a man by whom he had been benefited, and whose actions had rendered him renowned. Philip, however, as soon as he began to reign, took away Aratus by poison, who had no suspicion of his intention; and this because he had disapproved his wrathful behaviour on many occasions, and had often restrained him from acting agreeable to his impetuous desires. And the dead body, indeed, of Aratus, was carried from Ægeum, where he died, and buried with great magnificence at Sicyon; and even at present his heroic monument is called Arateum.

The same Philip, too, put to death, in a similar manner, the two Athenian orators, Euryclides and Micon, who had

no small influence over the minds of the people. At last, however, a deadly medicament was administered to Philip himself. For Perseus, the youngest of his sons, having destroyed by poison Demetrius, another of his sons, caused Philip to die, through weariness and anxiety of mind. But he who considers what is asserted by Hesiod under the inspiration of divinity, will manifestly perceive the justice in the death of Philip: for Hesiod says, "that he who designs to injure another will first of all turn the injury upon himself." But after the monument of Aratus, there is an altar dedicated to Isthmian Neptune. There are also certain rude images of Jupiter Milichius, and Diana, who is called Patroa. That of Milichius is in the shape of a pyramid, and that of Patroa has the figure of a column. In the same place, too, there is a building for judicial affairs, and a porch which is called, after the name of its builder, Clisthenia. Clisthenes built this from the spoils which he took when he warred, in conjunction with the Amphictyons, against Sciron. But in that part of the forum which stands in the open air there is a brazen Jupiter, the work of Lysippus, and near it a Diana of gold. Not far, too, from hence there is a temple of Apollo Lycæus, which, through the devastations of time, is at present the least worthy of inspection.

But the reason of its being so called was as follows: When the wolves once so infested the sheep that they scarcely yielded any profit to their owners, Apollo pointed out to them a place where they should strew some dry wood, the bark of which, when mingled with flesh and cast to the wolves, would destroy them as soon as they had tasted it. This wood, indeed, is placed in the temple of Lycæan Apollo; but from what tree it was taken is not known even by the Sicyonian historians. But after the temple certain brazen images present themselves to the view, which, according to report, are the daughters of

Proetus; but the inscription mentions women different from these. In the same place, too, there is a brazen Hercules, which was made by Lysippus the Sicyonian: and near it there is a Mercury Forensis.

CHAPTER X.

In the gymnasium, which is not far from the forum, there is a Hercules of stone, the work of Scopa. There is also in another place a temple of Hercules; and they call the whole inclosure in this part Pædize. But there is a temple in the middle of the inclosure, and an ancient wooden statue in it, which was made by Laphaes Phliasius. With respect to the sacrifice which they perform to Hercules, they are of opinion that the following particulars are to be observed. They report that Phæstus, when he came to Sicyonia, perceived that they performed funeral rites to Hercules as to a hero; but Phæstus considered this mode as unworthy the dignity of Hercules, and ordered them to sacrifice to him as a god. In consequence of this, even at present, the Sicyonians kill a lamb, and, burning his bones on an altar, eat one part in the usual manner, and offer up the other part to Hercules as a hero. But with respect to the festive days which they celebrate to Hercules, they call the former of these Onomata, and the other Herculean. From hence there is a way which leads to the temple of Æsculapius. But on proceeding to the inclosure, you will perceive on the left hand a two-fold building, in the front part of which there is a statue of Sleep, of which nothing is left except the head; and the more interior part of the building is dedicated to Apollo Carneus, into which it is not lawful for any but the priests to enter.

In the porch there is a bone of a whale of a prodigious magnitude, and near it there is a statue of the god of Dreams, and another of Sleep, under the appellation of Epidotes, lulling to rest a lion. But in the way which leads to the temple of Æsculapius, in one part there is a statue of Pan, and, in another, of Diana; the former of which is in a sitting, and the latter in a standing posture. On entering the temple, too, you will perceive a beardless statue of the god, made by Calamis from ivory and gold. In one of his hands he holds a sceptre, and in the other the fruit of a mild pine-tree. But they report, that the god was brought to them in the shape of a dragon from Epidaurus, drawn by two mules, and conducted by Nicagora the Sicyonian, the mother of Agasicles, and the wife of Echetimus. Certain statues, too, of no great magnitude, are suspended from the roof of the temple: and of these, that which sits on a dragon is, they say, Aristodama the mother of Aratus; and they consider Aratus as the son of Æsculapius. And such are the particulars which this inclosure contains worthy of being remembered.

But through this you may pass to another temple of Venus, in which the statue of Antiope first presents itself to the view; for her sons are said to have been Sicyonians, and Antiope is reported to have associated with them on their account, and to have by this means become allied to them. Into this temple of Venus, a woman who performs the office of a sexton, and who is forbidden to associate with a man, and a virgin who acts as an annual priestess, are alone permitted to enter; and the virgin is called Lutrophoros, from her employment of carrying water for washing. But all other persons are only allowed to behold and adore the goddess from the vestibule of the temple. Her image, which was made by Canachus the Sicyonian, is in a sitting posture; and this same Canachus made the statue of Didymæan Apollo for the Milesians, and of Isme-

nian Apollo for the Thebans. But the statue of Venus is made from ivory and gold; and on her head she bears *the pole*, in one of her hands a poppy, and in the other an apple. They sacrifice to this goddess the thighs of all victims except swine, and burn the other parts with the wood of the juniper-tree; but while the thighs are roasting, they burn together with them the leaves of the herb bear's-breech. This herb grows there within the inclosure in the open air; but does not grow any where else, not even in Sicyonia itself. Its leaves are less than those of the beech-tree, and greater than those of the scarlet oak; but their figure is nearly the same with that of an oak-leaf. It is partly, too, of a blackish colour, and partly white. Indeed, you may assimilate the colour of this herb to the leaves of the white poplar tree. But, on proceeding from hence to the gymnasium, you will perceive on the right hand the temple of Diana Pheræa; but the wooden statue of the goddess is said to have been brought hither from Pheræ. The gymnasium itself was built by Clinias for the Sicyonians, and it serves at present as a place for the education of youth. There is a statue in it of Diana, of white stone, which is polished no farther than the loins; and a statue of Hercules, in the lower parts similar to the square figures of Mercury.

CHAPTER XI.

On proceeding from hence to the gate which is called Sacred, you will perceive a temple of Minerva, not far from the gate itself. This was formerly dedicated by Epopeus, and surpasses in magnitude and ornament all the works of that time. But the memory of this building has perished through length of time; for divinity destroyed

it by lightning, and the altar alone remains untouched by the lightning, and in the condition in which it was made by Epopeus. Before the altar the sepulchre of Epopeus is raised; and near the tomb the gods called Averrunci are to be seen, to whom they sacrifice such things as the Greeks think necessary for the repulsion of evil. But they report, that Epopeus built one of the neighbouring temples to Diana, and the other to Apollo, but that Adrastus built that which is sacred to Juno. There are no statues, however, in either of these. But of the altars which are behind the temple of Juno, one of these Adrastus raised to Pan; and another, which is of white stone, to the Sun. After this, on descending as it were into the fields, you will perceive a temple of Ceres, which Plemnæus is said to have established in gratitude to the goddess for the nourishment of his son.

But at a little distance from the temple which Adrastus dedicated to Juno, the temple of Apollo Carneus formerly stood; for at present the pillars alone remain, but you cannot find either walls or a roof. This, too, is the case with the temple of Juno Prodomia, which was dedicated by Phalces the son of Temenus, hoping that by this means the goddess would be his leader in his journey to Sicyon. On proceeding from Sicyon, in the direct road to Phliuntes, you will perceive in a turning on the left hand, which is distant from the road about ten stadia, a grove called Piræa, and in it a temple of Ceres Prostasia, and Proserpine. In this place the men celebrate a festival apart from the women; for the women keep their festive days in the temple of the Nymphs, which they call Nymphon. But the road which leads to Titana is about sixty stadia in length, and on account of its narrowness is impervious to carriages. However, on keeping along this road for about twenty stadia as it appears to me, and passing over the river Asopus on the left hand, you will arrive at a

grove of scarlet oaks, which contains a temple of those goddesses which the Athenians call Semnai, and the Sicyonians Eumenides. On one day in every year, they celebrate the festival of these divinities, slay pregnant sheep, and are of opinion that they should use mead for a libation, and flowers instead of crowns. They sacrifice, too, in a similar manner, on the altars of the Parcæ, which stand in the uncovered part of the grove.

But on returning from hence into the road, when you have again passed over the Asopus, you will arrive at the summit of a mountain, which the natives report was first inhabited by Titan. They farther add, that this Titan was the brother of the Sun, and that the region was called, from him, Titana. But it appears to me, that this Titan was very skilful in observing the seasons of the year, and knew at what times the Sun increases seeds and plants, and brings fruits to maturity; and that on this account he was considered as the brother of the Sun. But after him Alexanor the son of Machaon, who was the son of Æsculapius, departing to Sicyonia, built in Titana the temple of Æsculapius. Different people dwell about this temple, but the greatest part of the place is inhabited by the servants of the god. Within the inclosure, too, there are ancient cypress-trees; but it is impossible to know from what wood or metal the statue is composed, or who was its artificer, unless some one should ascribe the work to Alexanor. But the face of this statue, together with the hands and feet, are alone apparent; for the other parts are covered with a white linen garment and a veil. In the same place, too, there is a statue of Hygeia, which cannot easily be seen, because it is so invested, partly with the hairs which the women cut off in honour of the goddess, and partly by the folds of her Babylonian garment. But whichever of these divinities any one is desirous to propitiate, the propriety of sacrificing to the

goddess of Health, whom they call Hygeia, is demonstrated to him.

With respect to Alexanor and Euamerion (for these also have their statues), they perform funeral rites to the first of these as to a hero after the setting of the sun, but they sacrifice to Euamerion as to a god. But if I rightly conjecture, the Pergameneans call this Euamerion Telesphorus, from a certain oracle, but the Epidaurî denominate him Acesius. There is also a wooden statue of Coronis, but it is not placed in any part of the temple: however, when they sacrifice to the god a bull, a lamb, and a hog, they carry Coronis into the temple of Minerva, and there worship him. Nor do they think it sufficient to consecrate the thighs of the victims, but of every animal, except birds, they burn all the parts on the ground; for the parts of these they place on the altar. But in those parts of the top of the building which they call the Eagles there is a statue of Hercules, and near the extremities of these, statues of Victory. In the porch there are statues of Bacchus and Hecate, Venus, Ceres, and Fortune; and these are all fashioned from wood. But the statue of Æsculapius, who is called Gortynius, is made of stone. No one, however, is willing to enter the temple, through fear of the sacred dragons which it contains; but placing food for them in the entrance of the temple, they immediately depart. Within the inclosure there is a brazen statue of Graniarius, a Sicyonian, who was twice victor in the quinquertium in the Olympic games, once in the stadium, twice in the repeated stadium which they call Diaulos, and who ran naked with a shield. 'But in Titana' there is also a temple of Minerva, into which they carry the statue of Coronis: and in this temple there is an ancient wooden statue of Minerva, which is said to have been struck with lightning.

CHAPTER XII.

On descending from the eminence on which this temple is built, you will perceive an altar of the Winds, on which in one night every year the priest sacrifices. He also performs certain other arcane ceremonies in four ditches, for the purpose of appeasing the rage of the winds; and sings, as they report, the incantations of Medea. But on proceeding from Titana to Sicyon, and descending to the sea, you will perceive, on the left hand of the road, a temple of Juno, which has neither a statue nor a roof, and which, they say, was dedicated by Proetus the son of Abas. After this, when you descend to that which is called the port of the Sicyonians, and turn towards the haven of the Pelleneans, which is called Aristonauta, you will see, a little above the road on the left hand, a temple of Neptune. But, proceeding along the public way, you may perceive a river which is called Elisson, and after it the rivers Sythæ devolving into the sea. In this place, too, Phliasia is the boundary of the Sicyonians. But the city itself is distant from Titana about forty stadia, and there is a direct road from Sicyon to Phliasia. And that the Phliasians, indeed, have nothing in common with the Arcadians, is evident from Homer's catalogue of the Arcadians, in which the Phliasians are not comprehended. But that they were at first Argives, and afterwards became Dorians, when the children of Hercules returned to Peloponnesus, will be evident in the progress of our discourse. However, as I know many disagreeing particulars respecting the Phliasians, I shall only relate such of their affairs as are most generally acknowledged.

Of this land, then, they report one Aras was the first

native, and that he built a city about that hill which is even now called Arantinus, and which is at no great distance from that other summit which contains the tower of the Phliasians and the temple of Hebe. This Aras then built the city; and both the city and the land were formerly called, from him, Arantia. But during his reign, Asopus, who is said to have been the son of Ceglusa and Neptune, discovered the water of a river which at present they call Asopus, from its inventor. But the sepulchre of Aras is in the town which they call Celænæ, and where also Dysaules the Eleusinian is said to be buried. This Aras had a son called Aoris, and a daughter Aræthyrea: and the Phliasians report, that these were skilled in hunting, and were valiant in war. But Aræthyrea dying first, Aoris, in memory of his sister, called the region Aræthyrea; and hence Homer mentions the inhabitants of this place among those who were under the dominion of Agamemnon:

"Fair Aræthyrea, Ornia's fruitful plain."

But I am of opinion, that the sepulchres of the children of Aras are in no other part of the country than the Arantian hill. There are noble columns raised to the memory of these near the temple of Ceres; and in this place, previous to the initiation, they celebrate Aras in songs, and looking towards these sepulchres, call in their libations upon the children of Aras.

I cannot, however, assent to the report of the Argives, that Phlias, who was the third person that gave a name to the country, was the son of Casus, and the grandson of Temenus; for I know that he is called the son of Bacchus, and is said to have been one of those who sailed in the ship Argo. And this is confirmed as follows by the Rhodian poet: "Aræthyrean Phlias came also, the illustrious offspring of Bacchus, who was most rich while he

possessed those lands through which Asopus flows."—But the mother of this Phlias was Aræthyrea, and not Chthonophyle; for Chthonophyle was his wife, by whom he had Androdama.

CHAPTER XIII.

But the Heraclidæ returning, all Peloponnesus except Arcadia was disturbed; so that many cities were compelled to receive men of a Doric name, and the inhabitants experienced still greater mutations. The particulars, however, respecting Phlias are as follow: Rhegnidas Doriensis, who was the son of Phalx, and the grandson of Temenus, came with an army from Argos and Sicyonia; and such indeed of the Phliasians as were called by Rhegnidas were obedient to his commands, remained in their proper habitations, gave the kingdom up to him, and assigned land to their companions. But Hippasus, and all his faction, thought proper to oppose him, and would not suffer the Dorienses to enjoy so many and such excellent advantages without a battle. However, when the people declared themselves of a contrary opinion, Hippasus, with such as were willing to follow him, fled to Samos. Pythagoras the wise was the great-grandson of this Hippasus; for Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus, and Mnesarchus was the son of Euphron and the grandson of Hippasus. And such are the reports of the Phliasians concerning these persons, to which for the most part the Sicyonians assent. It is therefore now proper that we should relate whatever is most worthy of inspection among the Phliasians.

In the tower, then, there is a grove of cypresses, and a temple most holy for its ancient rites. But the goddess

to whom the temple belongs was called by the most ancient Phliasians, Ganymeda, but by the modern, Hebe, of whom Homer makes mention when he describes the single combat of Paris and Menelaus, and who, he says, *ministers wine to the gods.* In the Odyssey, too, where Ulysses descends to Hades, he says that Hebe is the wife of Hercules. But the poet Olen, in his hymn to Juno, says that Juno was educated by the Hours, and that her offspring were Mars and Hebe. Among other honours which the Phliasians pay to this goddess, the greatest is that which pertains to suppliants; for they dismiss those with impunity who come hither in a suppliant posture, and liberating such as were in bonds, they hang their fetters on the trees in the grove. They also celebrate every year a festival, which they call *Cissotomos,* or *pertaining to ivy.* But for a certain sacred reason they neither preserve any statue in ah arcane recess, nor exhibit any one openly.

But in the tower there is also another inclosure sacred to Ceres, and which contains a temple, together with the statues of Ceres and Proserpine. The statue, however, of Diana (for there is a brazen statue of her in this place) appears to me to be ancient. But on descending from the tower, you will perceive a temple of Æsculapius on the right hand, and a statue without a beard. Beneath this temple there is a theatre; and not far from hence there is a temple of Ceres, which contains ancient statues in a sitting posture. But in the forum there is a brazen goat, for the most part of gold, which came to be honoured by the Phliasians on the following account. The constellation called the Goat is found, when it rises, to be constantly injurious to vines. In order, therefore, to prevent its noxious influence, they venerated this brazen goat in the market-place, and adorned it with gold. In this place, too, there is a sepulchre of Aristias the son of Pra-

tinas; and, indeed, the satires of this Aristias and his father Pratinas are the most approved of any except those of Æschylus.

But behind the forum, there is a house which is called by the Phliasians *prophetic*: and, as they report, Amphiaraus coming into this house, and sleeping there one night, began then for the first time to possess a divining power; for, prior to this, he was according to them perfectly unlearned: but, in consequence of this circumstance taking place, the house was ever after shut up. Not far from hence there is a place which is called Umbilicus, and which is the middle of all Peloponnesus, if their reports can be depended on. But on proceeding from the Umbilicus, you may perceive an ancient temple of Bacchus, another of Apollo, and another of Isis. In these the statues of Bacchus and Apollo are obvious to every one, but that of Isis can alone be beheld by the priests. The Phliasians report, that Hercules, when he returned from Lybia, having taken the apples of the Hesperides, came to Phlius about some affairs of his own; that while he stayed here, Oeneus, who was his father-in-law, came from Ætolia; and that here, when either Oeneus entertained Hercules at a feast, or Hercules Oeneus, Hercules, in consequence of the boy Cyathus, who was the wine-bearer of Oeneus, not pleasing him in the discharge of his office, struck the boy with one of his fingers on the head, which caused him immediately to expire. But the Phliasians have erected a building in memory of this, near the temple of Apollo: and this building contains two statues of stone, viz. Cyathus extending a cup to Hercules.

CHAPTER XIV.

But Celeæ is distant from Phlius about five stadia, in which place the mysteries of Ceres are celebrated every fourth year, and not every year. And in this *Initiation*, the hierophant does not maintain his office for life, but a different one is chosen for every fresh celebration of the mysteries. He may likewise, if he pleases, associate with a woman; and in these two particulars the mysteries differ from those of Eleusis, though in other respects they are performed in imitation of them; for the Phliasians themselves confess, that they imitate the Eleusinian mysteries. But they say, that Dysaules the brother of Celeus, when he came into their region, established the *initiation*, and that he was driven from Eleusis by Ion the son of Xuthus, at that time when the Athenians chose him for their general in the war against the Eleusinians. However, I cannot assent to this account of the Phliasians, that any one of the Eleusinians should secretly withdraw himself after having been vanquished in battle, since, prior to the event of the war, certain conditions were stipulated on both sides, and Eumolpus then remained at Eleusis.

Dysaules, however, might have come to Phlius for a reason different from that which is assigned by the Phliasians; for it does not appear to me, either that he was allied to Celeus, or that he ranked among the illustrious of the Eleusinians. Indeed, had this been the case, Homer would certainly not have omitted to mention him in his poems; for, in his hymn to Ceres, where he enumerates all those that were instructed in the mysteries by the goddess, he does not appear to have known any thing of the

Eleusinian Dysaules. But his verses in this hymn are as follow:

> Triptolemus, Eumolpus, high in fame,
> Bold Diocles, who knows the steed to tame,
> And mighty Celeus, who the sceptre holds:
> To these the grateful goddess, then, unfolds
> The ministration of her sacred rites;
> And all her holy mysteries indites.

Dysaules, therefore, as the Phliasians relate, both established the mysteries in this place, and first called the region Celeas. But, as I have observed before, the sepulchre of Dysaules is contained here, than which the tomb of Aras is more ancient: for, according to the relation of the Phliasians, Dysaules came into this country long after the reign of Aras; since, if we may believe them, Aras was cotemporary with Prometheus the son of Japetus, and was three generations prior to Pelasgus the son of Arcas, and to those who are called Autochthones by the Athenians. But in that temple which is called Anactorus, a chariot depends from the roof, which they report was the chariot of Pelops. And such are the particulars among the Phliasians most worthy of relation.

CHAPTER XV.

ARGOLICS.

On proceeding from Corinth to Argos, you will arrive at a city of no great magnitude, called Cleonæ: and they report, that Cleone was the daughter of Pelops; though, according to others, she was one of the daughters of the river Asopus, which flows through Sicyon. The name, therefore, was given to the city from one of these. In

this place there is a temple of Minerva, and the statue which it contains was made by Scyllis and Dipoenus. But some are of opinion that Dædalus married a daughter of Gortynis, by whom he had Dipoenus and Scyllis. But besides this temple in Cleonæ, there are sepulchres of Eurytus and Cleatus, who were slain by the arrows of Hercules, when they went from Elis in order to view the Isthmian games; and this because they opposed Hercules in the Augean war. But there are two roads which lead from Cleonæ to Argos, one of which is convenient for light-armed soldiers, and is a shorter way; for that which leads to a place called Tretum is narrow, and on all sides invested with mountains, but is better adapted than the other for carriages.

In these mountains the cave of the Nemean lion is yet to be seen, and the village Nemea is distant from hence about fifteen stadia. There is a temple of Nemean Jupiter in this place well worthy of inspection, though the roof of it has fallen off, and no statue is left. About the temple there is a grove of cypresses: and they report, that Opheltes, being placed here on the grass by his nurse, was destroyed by a dragon. But the Argives sacrifice to Jupiter in Nemea, and choose a priest for Nemean Jupiter. They propose, besides this, a contest of the course to armed men, which is celebrated in the winter. The sepulchre of Opheltes, too, is in this place, about which there is an inclosure of stones, and there are certain altars within the inclosure. There is also a tomb raised from turf, of Lycurgus the father of Opheltes; but they call the fountain Adrastia, either because Adrastus discovered it, or for some other reason. They say, however, that the region was denominated from Nemea, the daughter of Asopus.

But above Nemea, the mountain Apesas presents itself to the view, in which they report Perseus first sacrificed

to Jupiter Apesantius. But on returning to Tretus, and again proceeding to Argos, you will perceive on the left hand ruins of Mycenæ. And, indeed, the Greeks know, that Perseus was the founder of Mycenæ; but I shall now relate the cause of his building the city, and on what account the Argives afterwards destroyed it; for in that region which is now called Argolis, they have no remembrance of any circumstance more ancient than this. They report, then, that when Inachus reigned, he called the river by his own name, and sacrificed to Juno. It is also said, that Phoroneus first inhabited this land, whose father Inachus was not a man, but a river; and that, in conjunction with the rivers Cephissus, Asterion, and Inachus, he sat as a judge between Neptune and Juno, when they contended for the region. They add, that he decided in favour of Juno, that Neptune afterwards took away all their water, and that, on this account, neither Inachus nor any other of the rivers supplies them with water, unless divinity swells them with rain; for in summer, during the great dryness of the soil, they have no other water than that of Lerna. But Phoroneus the son of Inachus first collected men together into civil society; and hence the region into which they were first collected was called Phoronicus.

CHAPTER XVI.

This region, however, was denominated from Argus the son of a daughter of Phoroneus, and who reigned after Phoroneus. But Pirasus and Phorbas were the offspring of Argus, Triopas was the son of Phorbas, and Jasus and Agenor were the offspring of Triopas. Io, therefore, was the daughter of Jasus, whether or not, according to the relation of Herodotus, or the account of

the Greeks, she went to Egypt; but Crotopus the son of Agenor succeeded Jasus in the government, and Sthenelas was the offspring of Crotopus. But Danaus sailing from Egypt, and having expelled Gelanor the son of Sthenelas, took away the government from the grandsons of Agenor. And, indeed, the particulars respecting Danaus, and the daring wickedness of his daughters towards their cousins, are well known to every one, as likewise that, after the death of Danaus, Lynceus obtained the kingdom. But the sons of Abas, and the grandsons of Lynceus, so divided the kingdom among themselves, that Acrisius remained at Argos, Proetus possessed Hiræus, Midea, Tyrintha, and the maritime part of the Argolic land, of whose government Tirynthe yet remains as a monument.

But some time after, Acrisius knowing that Perseus was yet alive, and illustrious for his achievements, gave up the river Larissa to Peneus. Perseus, however, being inflamed with a desire of seeing his grandfather by his mother's side, and of procuring his friendship both by his words and actions, came to Larissa, at which time being in the vigour of his age, and elated with the invention of the quoit, which he exhibited to every one, he undesignedly slew Acrisius, whose evil dæmon brought him just then unperceived in his way, with a blow of it. And thus was the oracle formerly given to Acrisius confirmed, who could not escape the punishment of his intended cruelty to his daughter and grandson. But Perseus returning to Argos, ashamed of the infamy of the slaughter, persuaded Megapenthes the son of Proetus to deliver up the government to him. And after Megapenthes had complied with his request, Perseus built Mycena, which he so called, because in that place the *sheath* of his sword fell off. I have also heard it reported, that a man who was thirsty took this sheath off the ground, and that drinking and being delighted with the running water

which he found there, he called the region Mycena. But Homer, in the Odyssey, mentions a woman of the name Mycene in the following verse: "Tyro and Alcmene, and Mycene, whose brows are bound with a beautiful crown."

And that Mycene, indeed, was the daughter of Inachus, and the wife of Arestor, is asserted in those verses which the Greeks call *the great Eoeæ*. From Mycene, therefore, the city derived its name. But for my own part, I do not credit the relation, which they say they have heard, that Myceneus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton of Phoroneus, since these persons were not Lacedæmonians. For among the Lacedæmonians there is an image of a woman called Sparta, in Amyclæ; but they would certainly wonder, from the novelty of the name, if they should hear that Sparton was the son of Phoroneus. It is certain, however, that the Argives destroyed Mycenæ through envy. For when the Medes made an irruption into Greece, the Argives withheld their assistance, but the Mycenæ sent to the Thermopylæ eighty men, who participated with the Lacedæmonians of that illustrious undertaking. Grief, therefore, on account of their ravished glory, induced the Argives to cut off the Mycenæ.

Among other parts, however, of the inclosure, which still remain, a gate is perceived with lions standing on it: and they report, that these were the works of the Cyclops, who also made for Proetus the wall in Tirynthus. But among the ruins of Mycenæ there is a fountain called Persea, and subterraneous habitations of Atreus and his sons, in which they deposited their treasures. There is also a sepulchre of Atreus, and of all those who, returning from Troy with Agamemnon, were slain at a banquet by Ægisthus. For there is a dispute between the Lacedæmonians who inhabit Amyclæ, and the Mycenæans, con-

cerning the sepulchre of Cassandra. There is also a tomb here of Agamemnon, and of his charioteer Eurymedon, and one sepulchre in common of Teledamus and Pelops, who, as they report, were twins and the offspring of Cassandra, and who, while they were infants, were slain by Ægisthus at the tomb of their parents. There is likewise a sepulchre of Electra; for she was given by Orestes in marriage to Pylades, from whom, according to Hellanicus, she bore to Pylades two sons, Medon and Strophius. But Clytemnestra and Ægisthus are buried at a little distance from the walls; for they were not thought worthy of burial within the walls, where Agamemnon and those that fell with him are interred.

CHAPTER XVII.

On the right hand of Mycenæ, and at the distance of fifteen stadia, there is a temple of Juno. Along the road a water flows which is called Eleutherion, and which the priests of the temple, and those who preside over arcane sacrifices, use for purifications. But the temple itself is situated in the more depressed part of Eubœa; for they call this mountain Eubœa, and assert, that Eubœa, Prosymna, and Acræa, the daughters of the river Asterion, were the nurses of Juno; that from one of these, Acræa, the mountain which is opposite the temple of Juno received its appellation; from Eubœa, the mountain in which the temple stands; and that from the name of the third sister, the place which lies under the temple of Juno was called Prosymna. But Asterion flows under the temple of Jupiter, and, falling into a chasm, disappears. Grass grows upon its banks which they call Asterion,

which they present to Juno, and from the leaves of which, platted together, they form crowns. The architect of this temple was, they report, the Argive Eupolemus.

But the sculpture above the columns partly relates to the birth of Jupiter, partly to the battle of the gods and giants, and partly to the Trojan war and the destruction of Ilium. There are statues, too, before the entrance of the temple, both of the women who have been the priestesses of Juno, of heroes, and other persons, and, among these, of Orestes; for the statue which is incribed with the name of Augustus is said to be the statue of Orestes. But in the vestibule of the temple, you will perceive on the left hand ancient statues of the Graces, and on the right hand the bed of Juno. In this vestibule, too, that shield is dedicated which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus in the Trojan war. But the statue of Juno is seated on a throne of great magnitude, which consists of ivory and gold, and which was the work of Polycletus. The goddess has a crown on her head, in which the Graces and Hours are represented; and in one of her hands she holds a pomegranate, and in the other a sceptre. *But the particulars respecting the pomegranate, as they belong to an arcane discourse, I shall pass by in silence.*

With respect to the cuckoo which is on the sceptre of the goddess, they say it was placed there because Jupiter, being enamoured with Juno when a virgin, changed himself into that bird, and that Juno pursued it as her sport. This relation, and all others of a similar kind concerning the gods, I do not by any means commit to writing as true, and yet I think, nevertheless, that they ought not to be neglected. It is said, too, that the statue of Hebe stood by that of Juno; that it was made by the art of Naucydes, and that it consisted of ivory and gold. There is also an ancient statue of Juno here upon a column. But the most ancient statue was made from the sylvan pear-tree, and was

brought by Pirasus the son of Argus to Tiryntha; but, in consequence of the Argives taking Tiryntha, was carried to the temple of Juno. This statue I myself saw, which was in a sitting posture, and of no great magnitude. But the offerings which are worthy of inspection in this temple are, first, an altar, in which the marriage of Hercules and Hebe is represented; and this is of silver: but there is a peacock of gold and splendid stones, which the Emperor Adrian dedicated, because this bird is considered as sacred to Juno. There is also a golden crown and a purple robe here, the gifts of Nero. But above this temple there are foundations of a more ancient temple, and other things which have not been destroyed by the flames. This more ancient temple was burnt, through Chrysis the priest of Juno falling asleep, and the crowns being set on fire by a lamp which was near them. And Chrysis, indeed, the priest, fled to Tegea, in order to supplicate Minerva Alea. The Argives, however, though they were oppressed with such a calamity; did not throw down the statue of Chrysis; and it even remains at present in the front part of this burnt temple.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the way which leads from Mycenæ to Argos, and on the left hand of the temple of Perseus, there is an heroic monument near the road; for Perseus is honoured in this place by the neighbouring inhabitants, but the greatest honours are paid to him in Seriphus. The Athenians, also, have a grove sacred to Perseus, which contains the altars of Dictyes and Clymenes, who are called the saviours of Perseus. But on proceeding to a little distance from this monument of Perseus, in the borders of the Argives, you will perceive on the right hand the sepulchre of Thy-

estes, upon which there is a stone ram, because Thyestes possessed a golden ram when he committed adultery with his brother's wife. Reason, indeed, was not wanting to persuade Atreus to recompense ill with ill; and hence he put to death the children of Thyestes, and gave the so much celebrated feasts. I cannot, however, certainly affirm, whether Ægisthus first did the injury unprovoked, or whether he revenged, in the person of Agamemnon, the death of Tantalus the son of Thyestes, to whom Clytemnestra, when a virgin, was espoused by her father Tyndarus. For my own part, I am unwilling to condemn them as naturally bad. But, if so great a punishment was due to the filthy conduct of Pelops towards Myrtilus, we must then acquiesce in the reply of the Pythian oracle to Glaucus, the son of Epicydes king of the Spartans, when he perjured himself, and assert, that the punishment of this crime descended to the posterity of the guilty.

But on proceeding from the rams (for so they call the sepulchre of Thyestes) you will perceive at a little distance, on the left hand, a place called Mysia, in which there is a temple of Mysian Ceres: which name originated from a man called Mysius, who, as the Argives report, was the guest of Ceres. This temple is without a roof, but it contains another temple, raised from baked tiles, in which there are wooden images of Proserpine, Pluto, and Ceres. On departing from hence, you will arrive at the river Inachus, which when you have passed over you may perceive, in the first place, an altar of the sun, and afterwards a gate, which is denominated from the neighbouring temple of the goddess Lucina. But the Argives are the only Grecians I am acquainted with that are divided into three kingdoms. For during the reign of Anaxagoras, the son of Argeus and the grandson of Megapenthes, such a madness invaded the women, that, wandering from their own

habitations, they rambled about the country till Melampus the son of Amythaon put a stop to their malady; in reward of which, Anaxagoras gave him and his brother Bias an equal share of the kingdom, in conjunction with himself.

But, from Bias, five men reigned for four generations, as far as to Cyanippus the son of Ægialeus, all of whom derived their origin from Neleus on the mother's side. But from Melampus there were six generations, and as many men, as far as to Amphilocus the son of Amphiaraus. The descendants, however, of Anaxagoras, who were natives of this place, reigned for a longer time. For Iphis, the son of Alector and the grandson of Anaxagoras, left the government to Sthenelus, the son of his brother Capaneus; and afterwards, when Amphilocus, in consequence of the destruction of Troy, migrated into that place which is now called, from him, Amphilocus, and Cyanippus died without children, Cylarabes the son of Sthenelus alone obtained the kingdom. But neither did he leave any children behind him. Orestes, therefore, the son of Agamemnon, obtained Argos, reigned over the neighbouring places, and, besides his paternal government, entered into an alliance with many of the Arcadians, possessed the Spartan kingdom, and always had the mercenary troops of the Phocenses to assist him. But Orestes reigned over the Lacedæmonians, who willingly subjected themselves to his command; for they thought that a descendant of Tyndarus was more worthy to reign over them, than Nicostratus and Megapenthes, who were the progeny of Menelaus by a slave.

Orestes, however, dying, Tisamenus succeeded to the government, who was the son of Orestes by Hermione the daughter of Menelaus; for that Erigone the daughter of Ægisthus brought forth Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes, is testified by Cinæthon in his verses. But during

the reign of this Tisamenus, the Heraclidæ, or posterity of Hercules, came into Peloponnesus, viz. Temenus and Cresphontes, the sons of Aristomachus; for a third son, Aristodemus, being dead, the brothers of the deceased engaged in this expedition. And, indeed, as it appears to me, they are very properly dubious concerning the Argi and the kingdom in Argos; for Tisamenus was the grandson of Pelops, but the Heraclidæ derived their origin from Perseus. With respect to Tyndarus, they evince that he was ejected by Hippocoon; but they say that Hippocoon and his sons being cut off by Hercules, the kingdom was assigned to the children of Tyndarus.

They likewise report things of this kind concerning Messenia: for they say that Hercules, having taken Pylus, left this region as a deposit with Nestor. Hence they expelled Tisamenus from Lacedæmon and Argi; from Messenia, the posterity of Nestor, Alcmæon the son of Sillus and the grandson of Thrasymede, and Pisistratus the son of Pisistratus; and besides these the children of Pæon, the son of Antilochus, Melanthus the son of Andropompus, the grandson of Borus, and the great-grandson of Penthilus, who was the son of Periclymenes. Tisamenus, therefore, came with an army and his sons into that part of Greece which is now called Achaia, and likewise the posterity of Neleus, except Pisistratus (for I do not know to what people he betook himself); but all the rest came to Athens; and from these the progeny of the Pæonidæ and Alcmæonidæ were denominated. But Melanthus, also, obtained the government, having expelled Thymoetes the son of Oxyntas; for Thymoetes was the last of the descendants of Theseus that reigned over the Athenians. But the present discourse does not require that I should say any thing concerning Cresphontas and the children of Aristodemus.

CHAPTER XIX.

But Temenus having obtained the kingdom of the Argives, instead of his own children employed Deiphontes the son of Antimachus, the grandson of Thrasyanor, and the great-grandson of Ctesippus who was the son of Hercules, both as his associate in war and his counsellor in every undertaking; for, prior to this, he had made him his son-in-law, and was delighted with his daughter Hyrnethon more than with any of his other children, so that it was suspected he would transfer the kingdom to her and Deiphontes. In consequence of all this, he was slain by the stratagems of his sons, the eldest of whom, Cisus, took possession of the kingdom. But the Argives, who from the earliest period were advocates for liberty of speech and laws of their own making, so diminished the power of kings, that they left nothing to Cisus and his posterity but the mere name of a king. And the people having capitally condemned Meltas, the son of Lacidaus and the grandson of Medon, deprived him of the royal authority.

But in the city of the Argives the most splendid of all their temples is that of Apollo Lycius; and the statue which it at present contains was the work of Attalus the Athenian. The statue, however, which existed at first was of wood, and was dedicated, together with the temple, by Danaus; for at that time I am persuaded all statues were formed from wood, and especially the Egyptian statues. But Danaus established the temple of the Lycian Apollo, on the following account. When Danaus came to Argos, he contended for the kingdom with Gelanor the son of Sthenela; and as each of them addressed many

arguments to the people, both of a probable and just nature, and those of Gelanor appeared to be not less valid than those of Danaus, hence the decision of the lispute was deferred till the next day. But on the next lay a wolf rushed on a herd of oxen that were feeding ›efore the walls, and attacked the bull that was the leader ›f the herd. This circumstance occasioned the Argives o assimilate Gelanor to the bull, and Danaus to the volf; because, as the wolf is an animal that has no as-ociation with men, so Danaus till that time had no corre-pondence with the Argives; but as the wolf had van-uished the bull, on this account Danaus obtained the ingdom. And Danaus being of opinion that Apollo sent he wolf to this herd of oxen, built the temple of Lycian Apollo.

In this temple the throne of Danaus is dedicated, and n image of Biton, which is a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. But Lyceas asserts in his verses, that Biton possessed such strength of body, that when the Argives brought to Nemea their sacrifice to Jupiter, he lifted and carried the bull which was to be sacrificed. Near this image they enkindle a fire, which they call the fire of Phoroneus; for they do not admit that fire was given by Prometheus to men, but ascribe the invention of it to Phoroneus. With respect to the wooden statues of Venus and Mercury, they report that the one was the work of Epeus, but the other the gift of Hypermnestra; for of all his daughters Danaus alone led Hypermnestra to the place of judgment, because she was disobedient to the commands of her father. For she considered that the safety of Lynceus would not be accomplished without danger to herself, and that by not participating with her sisters of the daring attempt and stratagems in which they engaged, she would render the infamy of her father and sisters more apparent. However, she was acquitted by

the decision of the Argives; and, in memorial of this affair, she dedicated a statue of Venus, which they call *Nicephoros*, or the *Victorious*.

But within the temple there is a statue of Ladas, who in swiftness of foot surpassed all the men of his time, and of Mercury, who is represented thinking how he shall make a lyre from a tortoise which he had taken away. Before the temple there is a footstool, in which the battle of the bull and wolf is represented, and together with these a virgin, throwing a stone at the bull. They believe that this virgin is Diana: and these were dedicated by Danaus, as likewise the pillars which are near them, and the wooden statues of Jupiter and Diana. In the same place, too, there are sepulchres, one of Linus the son of Apollo, and the other of Psamathe the daughter of Crotopus. They report that this Linus is the same with the poet of that name, the particulars respecting whom I shall defer to a more convenient part of this description; for what concerns Psamathe I have related in my account of the Megarensian affairs. But besides all these, there is a statue of Apollo Agyieus, or *the guardian of ways*, and an altar of Jupiter Pluvius, upon which those who, by uniting their forces, procured the return of Polynices to the Theban kingdom, swore that they would die if they could not take Thebes. But the Argives appear to me to assert things less probable concerning the tomb of Promotheus than the Opuntii. They likewise farther report as follows.

CHAPTER XX.

If you pass by the image of Creugas the pugilist, you will perceive a trophy erected on account of the

Corinthians, and a statue of Jupiter *Milichius*, or *the Mild*, of white stone, and the work of Polycletus. But I have heard that it was dedicated on the following account. The Lacedæmonians having undertaken a war against the Argives, did not cease their hostilities till Philip the son of Amyntas compelled them to rest satisfied with the ancient boundaries of their kingdom. In former times, indeed, the Lacedæmonians did not meditate any conquests beyond Peloponnesus, but they were always taking away something from the dominion of the Argives; or else the Argives, when the Lacedæmonians were engaged in wars beyond their own boundaries, pressed on the Lacedæmonians. Both, therefore, having arrived at the extremity of hatred, the Argives thought proper to maintain a thousand chosen men, appointing the Argive Bryas for their general. This man, among many injuries which he committed towards the people, seized on a virgin as she was going to be married, and then laid the blame of her capture on her attendants. The virgin, however, in the same night, blinded Bryas while he was asleep, and being seized as soon as it was day, she fled in a suppliant posture to the people, who would not suffer her to be punished by the thousand men. In consequence of this a battle ensuing, the people were victors, who, giving way to their wrath, did not leave one of their adversaries alive.

But afterwards other expiations of civil blood took place, and a statue of *mild Jupiter* was dedicated. Near this, too, there are images fashioned from stone of Cleobis and Biton, who, placing their mother in the car, drew her themselves to the temple of Juno. Opposite to this there is a temple of Jupiter Nemeus, in which there is an upright brazen statue of the god, the work of Lysippus. But after this, on proceeding to the right hand, you will perceive the sepulchre of Phoroneus. Indeed, even at

present they perform funeral obsequies to Phoroneus. But above the temple of Jupiter Nemeus there is a most ancient temple of Fortune, in which Palamedes dedicated the dice which he invented. Near this there is a sepulchre of Ariadne; for they report, that she and other women followed Bacchus when he led his army to Argos: but Perseus, as he was victor in this engagement, slew many of those women. The other females, therefore, are buried in common; but Ariadne, as she surpassed the rest in dignity, has a sepulchre of her own.

Not far from hence there is a temple of the Hours: and on leaving this, you will perceive the statues of Polynices the son of Oedipus, and of all those leaders who fell with him fighting under the Theban walls. Of these men, seven only are mentioned by Æschylus, though many of the Argive generals and many from Messene and Arcadia associated in this war. Near these seven (for the Argives also have followed the number of Æschylus) the statues of those are placed who took Thebes; viz. Ægialeus the son of Adrastus, Promachus the son of Parthenopæus and the grandson of Talaus, Polydorus the son of Ippomedon and Thersander; likewise the children of Amphiaraus, *i. e.* Alcmæon and Amphilocus, and Diomed and Sthenelus; and besides these, Euryalus the son of Mecisteus, and Adrastus and Timeas, the sons of Polynices. Not far, too, from these statues, the monument of Danaus is exhibited, and an empty sepulchre of those Argives, that either fell at Troy, or died after returning home.

In this place there is likewise a temple of Jupiter *the Saviour;* after which you will arrive at a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis. On the right hand of the entrance of this temple there is a temple dedicated to the river Cephissus. They report, that the water of this river has not once disappeared through Neptune, but

they have found that in the place where the temple stands the river flows under the earth. But near the temple of Cephissus there is a head of Medusa, of stone, and which they report was the work of the Cyclops. The place behind this they call, even at present, the *Criterion*, or *tribunal of judgment*, because it is said that Hypermnestra was tried in this by Danaus. Not far from hence there is a theatre, which contains, among other things worthy of inspection, a man slaying another man, viz. Perilaus the Argive slaying the Spartan Othryades. And this same Perilaus was, prior to this, declared victor in wrestling at the Nemean games.

But above the theatre there is a temple of Venus, and before the basis upon which the statue of the goddess stands, Telesilla, who composed songs, stands on a column. Volumes of her verses are scattered at her feet, and she herself is represented beholding a helmet, which she holds in her hands, and is about to place on her head. This Telesilla was in other respects a renowned woman, and particularly was celebrated for her poetical compositions. But at the time when the Argives suffered more through Cleomenes the son of Anaxandridas, and king of the Lacedæmonians, than can be expressed, one part of such as survived the engagement, and fled as suppliants to the grove of Argos, violated the conditions of peace to which they were called; and another part, finding themselves deceived, burned themselves, together with the grove. Cleomenes, therefore, led the Lacedæmonians to Argos, now destitute of men: but then Telesilla, collecting together the servants, and all such as through youth or age were incapable of bearing arms, led them to the walls, and gathering herself all the arms which were left either in houses or temples, she armed all the women that were in the vigour of their age, and placed them at that part of the town which she knew the Lacedæmonians

would attack. But when the Lacedæmonians drew near, the women were not frightened at their warlike clamour, but, receiving them boldly, fought with great vigour and strength. And the Lacedæmonians considering, that if they destroyed the women, they should obtain an invidious victory, and at the same time that it would be shameful for them to be vanquished, in consequence of these reasons, surrendered themselves to the women. And this illustrious achievement was indeed predicted by the Pythian oracle; and Herodotus exhibits the oracle, whether he understood it in a different sense, or whether he apprehended its true meaning. But the oracle is as follows: "When a female having conquered the male species, shall expel them, and shall obtain the chief renown among the Argives, then many of the Argives will be lacerated on all sides." And such is the oracle respecting the achievement of the women.

CHAPTER XXI.

On descending from hence, and again proceeding to the forum, you will perceive the sepulchre of Cerdes the wife of Phoroneus. There are also in the same place the temples of Æsculapius and Diana, who is called *Persuasion*. This last was dedicated by Hypermnestra, when she obtained the victory over her father in the court of judicature, who pleaded in his defence that he had spared Lynceus. There is also a brazen statue of Æneas, and a place which they call Delta. But the reason assigned for this appellation, as it does not appear to me satisfactory, I shall willingly pass over. Before this place there is an altar of Jupiter Phyxius, and near it is the sepulchre of Hypermnestra the mother of Amphiaraus, and likewise of another Hypermnestra the daughter of Danaus. Lynceus

is also buried in the same tomb; and opposite to this you may perceive the sepulchre of Talaus the son of Bias, concerning whom, as likewise his posterity, we have discoursed before.

But they report that Hegelaus established the temple of Minerva *the trumpet;* and they say, that Hegelaus was the son of Tyrrhenus; that Tyrrhenus, who was the son of Hercules and a woman called Lyda, first invented the trumpet; that Hegelaus, the Dorian, taught those that followed Temenus the use of the instrument; and that on this account he called Minerva *the trumpet.* But before the temple of Minerva you will perceive a sepulchre, which, they say, is the tomb of Epimenides: for, when the Lacedæmonians warred on the Gnossians, they took Epimenides alive, and afterwards putting him to death, because he predicted things unpleasant to them, they buried his dead body in this place. But the building of white stone, which nearly stands in the middle of the forum, is a trophy of Pyrrhus, king of the Epirots, according to the report of the Argives. His dead body was burnt in this place, and his sepulchre may be found here, in which there is a representation of several things which he used in battle, and among the rest of his elephants. And this building is about his funeral pile, but the body of Pyrrhus lies in the temple of Ceres, before which building he fell, as I have related in my description of the Attic affairs.

In the entrance of this temple of Ceres, you may yet see a brazen shield of Pyrrhus suspended over the gates. But not far from the building in the forum of the Argives there is a tomb of earth, in which they report the head of the Gorgon Medusa is buried, concerning whom, without attending to fable, the following particulars are related. In the first place, it is said, that she was the daughter of Phorcys, and that her father dying, she reigned over the inhabitants of the Tritonian marsh; that she was accus-

tomed to hunt, and lead the Africans to battle, and that opposing the army of Perseus, which consisted of Peloponnesian soldiers, she was slain in the night by stratagem. It is said, too, that Perseus, wondering at the beauty of her dead body, cut off her head, for the purpose of showing it to the Greeks. But Proclus, the Carthaginian, the son of Eucrates, delivers an account of Medusa more probable than the preceding. According to him, then, there are many wild beasts in the deserts of Africa of an incredible species, and, among these, savage men and women. Proclus adds, that he saw at Rome a man that was brought from thence, and that it appears probable to him, that Medusa was one of these women, who, wandering as far as the Tritonian marsh, destroyed the inhabitants, till she was herself slain by Perseus: but that Minerva is reported to have assisted Perseus, because the men that dwell about the Tritonian marsh are sacred to Minerva.

But in Argos, besides this sepulchre of Medusa, there is a tomb of Perseus Gorgophone, or *the slayer of Gorgon*; the reason of which appellation must be obvious to every one. It is said, that she was the first woman, who, on the death of her husband Perieres the son of Æolus, married another man, Oebalus; for, prior to this, it was usual for women on the death of their husbands to abstain from marrying again. Before this sepulchre there is a stone trophy of one Laphaes an Argive, who (for I write what the Argives themselves assert) was violently ejected by the people after he had obtained the government. After this he fled to Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to restore him to his tyranny: but the Argives being victors in the engagement, they slew Laphaes, and many of the Lacedæmonians. But the temple of Latona is not far from this trophy, and the statue is the work of Praxiteles. The image of the virgin which stands near the goddess they call Chloris; and report, that she was the daughter

of Niobe, and that her name at first was Melibœa; but that when the children of Amphion were destroyed by Diana and Apollo, she alone together with Amycla were preserved, because they supplicated Latona. They add, that Melibœa through fright became immediately pale, and that this colour continuing the rest of her life, she came to be called *Chloris* instead of *Melibœa*. And the Argives indeed assert, that the temple of Latona was at first built by these surviving children of Niobe. But I, who pay more attention to the poetry of Homer than others, believe that none of the children of Niobe were spared; and the following lines confirm my opinion:

> But two the goddess, twelve the queen enjoy'd:
> Those boasted twelve th' avenging two destroy'd.

For Homer knew that the house of Amphion was overturned from its foundation.

CHAPTER XXII.

On the right hand of the temple of Latona, you will perceive the temple of Juno Antheia, or *the Florid:* and before this there is a sepulchre of those women who, following the army of Bacchus from the islands of the Ægean sea, fell in an engagement against the Argives and their leader Perseus; and on this account they call them *Marines*. But opposite to the sepulchre of the women there is a temple of Ceres, whom they call Pelasgis, from Pelasgus, the son of Triopas, by whom it was dedicated. Not far from hence you may perceive the sepulchre of Pelasgus, which when you have passed by, you will behold a brazen tomb of no great magnitude, and which sustains ancient statues of Diana, Jupiter, and Minerva. Lycias reports

in his verses, that the second of these statues is that of Jupiter *the Machinator*, and that the Argives who warred against Troy swore in this place, that they would not desist from fighting, till either they had taken Troy, or died in the attempt. But it is reported by others, that the bones of Tantalus are buried in this tomb, viz. of that Tantalus who was married to Clytemnestra before she was the wife of Agamemnon; whether this Tantalus was the son of Thyestes or of Bronteus, for both these reports are circulated concerning him. I have no doubt, however, but that he was buried in this place.

But I have seen in Sipylus the sepulchre of that Tantalus who is called the son of Jupiter and Plutus, and it is well worthy of inspection. No necessity, however, compelled him to fly from Sipylus, as was the case with Pelops afterwards, whom Ilus the son of Phryx expelled with an army. And thus much have I inquired concerning particulars of this kind. But with respect to the operations which take place in a ditch near this place, they are said to have been established by one Nicostratus a native: and even at present they throw into this ditch burning lamps to Proserpine the daughter of Ceres. There is here also a temple of Neptune, who is called *Prosclystius* or the *Inundator*: for they report that Neptune deluged a great part of the land, because Inachus and those of his counsel asserted that the land belonged to Juno, and not to Neptune. But then Juno entreated Neptune to draw back the sea; and the Argives built a temple to Neptune Prosclystius, in the place from whence the water retreated.

But on proceeding not far from hence, you will perceive the sepulchre of Argus, who appears to have been the son of Jupiter and Niobe the daughter of Phoroneus. After this there is a temple of the Dioscuri, which not only contains their images, but likewise those of their children, Anaxis and Mnasinous; and together with these, the mo-

thers of the children Hilaira and Phœbe, made by Dipœnus and Scyllis from ebony. The horses likewise are for the most part made from ebony, and a few parts are fashioned from ivory. But near the kings, or the Dioscuri, there is a temple of Lucina, which was dedicated by Helen at that time when Theseus, departing to Thesprotia together with Perithous, was taken by the Dioscuri at Aphidna, and Helen was brought back to Lacedæmon. For they report that she was with child by Theseus, that she was delivered in Argos, and that she established the temple of Lucina. They add farther, that the girl which she brought forth was given to Clytemnestra, and that afterwards she was married to Menelaus. Hence Euphorion Chalcidensis, Alexander Pleuronius, and prior to these Stesichorus Himeræus, assert the same in their verses as the Argives, that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus.

Beyond the temple of Lucina there is a temple of Hecate, and the statue is the work of Scopas, and is of stone; but, opposite to this, there are two statues of the same goddess of brass, one of which was made by Polycletus, and the other by Naucydes the brother of Pericletus, and the son of Mothon. But on proceeding along the direct road to the gymnasium, which is called the gymnasium of Cylarabus, from the son of Sthenelus, you will see the sepulchre of Licymnius the son of Electryon, who according to Homer was slain by Tleptolemus the son of Hercules, and on account of which slaughter Tleptolemus fled from Argos. But at a little distance from the gymnasium of Cylarabus, and on passing by that gate which is near it, you will perceive the tomb of Sacadas, who first sung on a pipe at Delphos the Pythian song, with which Apollo was so pleased, that he became reconciled with the pipers, with whom prior to this he was at enmity, through the contests of Marsyas and Silenus. But in the gymnasium of Cylarabus there is a statue of Minerva, who is called

Pania: and they show in the same place the tomb of Sthenelus, and likewise of Cylarabus himself. And not far from the gymnasium, there is a common sepulchre of those Argives who sailed in conjunction with the Athenians, for the purpose of subduing Syracuse and Sicily.

CHAPTER XXIII.

After this, on returning from the way which is called *hollow*, a temple of Bacchus presents itself to the view on the right hand, whose statue, as they report, was brought from Eubœa. For the Greeks, on their return from Troy, happening to be shipwrecked near Caphareus, such of the Argives as were able to reach the land were nearly consumed with hunger and cold. In this situation, they are said to have implored the gods to preserve them in so great a calamity; and that as they pursued their way they perceived a cave sacred to Bacchus, a statue of the god within the cave, and many wild goats, which had collected themselves together in this place, in order to avoid the storm. These the Argives slew, feasted on their flesh, and used their skins instead of garments. But after the storm abated they repaired their ships, and returned to their country, taking with them the image out of the cave, which even at present they religiously venerate.

But you may perceive the house of Adrastus very near the temple of Bacchus, and at some distance from this the temple of Amphiaraus; and beyond this again the sepulchre of Eriphyle. After these there is a grove of Æsculapius, and after this the temple of Baton. This Baton was of the race of Amphiaraus, who descended from the Melampodæ, and drove the chariot of Amphiaraus in battle: but when the Argives were repulsed from the

Theban walls, this Baton disappeared in the same chasm in which Amphiaraus and his chariot vanished. But on returning from this hollow, you may perceive that which they call the sepulchre of Syrnethes. If this tomb, therefore, be empty, and was raised in memory of the woman, their relation is probable; but if they assert that the dead body of Syrnethes is there buried, I cannot assent to their assertion, though any one ignorant of the Epidaurian affairs may be induced to be of this opinion.

But among the images of Æsculapius, that which is the most illustrious of any at present among the Argives, represents the god sitting, is made of white stone, has Health standing by it, and the artists Xenophilus and Straton, by whom the statues were made. The temple was established at first by Sphyrus the son of Machaon, and the brother of that Alexenor who is honoured by the Sicyonians in Titana. But there is a statue of Pheræa Diana (for the Argives also venerate Pheræa Diana) both among the Athenians and Sicyonians: and this statue, as they report, was brought hither from Pheræ in Sicily. I can by no means, however, assent to the following report: For the Argives say, that there is a sepulchre in Argos, of Deianira the daughter of Oeneus, and another of Helenus the son of Priam; and that they have a statue of Minerva, which was brought from Troy, and was the cause of Ilion being taken. For it is evident that the Palladium (as it is called) was brought by Æneas into Italy: and we know that Deianira died at Trachina, and not at Argos; and that her tomb is near Heraclea, under the mountain Oeta.

The particulars, however, respecting Helenus the son of Priam, I have already related; viz. that he came into Epirus with Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, that he took care of the children of Pyrrhus after his death, that he married Andromache, and that Cestrine received her name from Cestrinus the son of Helenus. Nor are the Argive

historians ignorant that all their relations are not by any means true; but they commit them to writing, because it is no easy matter to persuade the multitude to change their opinions. But there are other things worthy of inspection in the country of the Argives, and among these a subterranean edifice in which there is a brazen bed-chamber, which Acrisius once made for the security of his daughter. This, however, was destroyed by Perilaus during his tyranny; and at present it contains the sepulchre of Crotopus, and a temple of Bacchus Cresius. For they report, that when Bacchus, after the war with Perseus, laid aside his anger, mighty honours were paid to him by the Argives, and that this illustrious temple was dedicated to him. They add, that it was afterwards called Cresium, because Ariadne was buried there by Bacchus. But Lyceas reports, that when the temple was restored, an earthen urn was found, which contained the ashes of Ariadne, and that it was seen by him and many of the Argives. Near this temple of Bacchus there is a temple of Celestial Venus: but they call the tower Larissa, from the name of the daughter of Pelasgus: from whom, also, two cities in Thessaly are called by the same name; one of which is near the sea, and the other is situated by the river Peneus.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On ascending to the tower, you will perceive the temple of Juno Acræa, and likewise the temple of Apollo, which Pythacus, when he came to Delphos, is said to have first built. But the statue which it contains at present is of brass, and in an upright posture, and is called *Diradiotes* Apollo, because the place in which the temple stands is denominated Dira. The oracle in this temple (for answers

are given by it even now) is celebrated in the following manner. The woman who predicts future events is forbidden an association with men, and sacrifices a lamb on one night in every month, and immediately on tasting the blood becomes possessed by the god. After the temple of Diradiotes Apollo, there is a temple of *Perspicacious* Minerva, which was dedicated by Diomed, because this goddess, when he was fighting before Troy, dispersed the darkness from his eyes. Adjoining to this, also, there is a stadium, in which games are celebrated to Nemean Jupiter, and to Juno. But in going to the tower on the left hand, you may perceive the monument of the sons of Ægyptus; for here their heads are buried separate from the other parts of the body, but in Lerna, the other parts of the body without the head: for the youths were slaughtered in Lerna, and the women, as soon as they were dead, cut off their heads, for the purpose of convincing their father of their daring attempt.

In the high tower which is called Larissa, there is a temple of Jupiter, who is surnamed *Larissæus*, which is without a roof; and the statue of the god, which is of wood, does not any longer stand on a base. There is also in this place a temple of Minerva, which is well worthy of inspection. This temple, among other statues, contains a wooden statue of Jupiter, which has two eyes, each in its natural place, and a third in the forehead. They report that this is the Jupiter *Patrius*, which was placed in the open air, in the palace of Priam the son of Laomedon, and to whose altar Priam, when Troy was taken by the Greeks, fled for refuge. They add, that when the spoil was divided, this statue fell to the lot of Sthenelus the son of Capaneus, and that on this account it was dedicated by him in this place. But we may collect the propriety of the statue having three eyes, if we consider, that, in the opinion of all men, Jupiter reigns in the

heavens: and that he governs the places under the earth, is evident from this verse of Homer, in which the subterranean ruler is called Jupiter:

> "Jove subterranean, and of high renown
> Proserpine."———

And Æschylus, the son of Euphorion, calls Jupiter the ruler of the sea. Hence, whoever made the statue, gave it three eyes, because this god rules over the aforesaid three divisions of the world.

But there are certain roads in Argos which lead into other places of Peloponnesus; and one of these leads to Tegea, a city of Arcadia. On the right hand, too, of this road there is a mountain called Lycone, which mostly abounds with cypress-trees. But on the summit of the mountain there is a temple of Orthia Diana, and the statues of Apollo, Latona, and Diana, of white stone: and these are said to be the works of Polycletus. On descending from the mountain, you may perceive, on the left hand of the public road, another temple of Diana: and at a little distance from hence, on the right hand, there is a mountain called Chaon, whose bottom is invested with planted trees. Here, too, the water of Erasinus rises apparently, deriving its origin from the Stymphalus of Arcadia, in the same manner as these streams which are called Rheti flow from Euripus to Eleusis, and from thence into the sea which Eleusis contains. Near this eruption of Erasinus from the mountain Lycone, they sacrifice to Bacchus and Pan; and they celebrate a festival to Bacchus, which they call *Turbe*. But on returning to that road which leads to Tegea, you will see on the right hand of the street called Trochos, Cenchreæ. They cannot assign any reason why this place is so called. Perhaps the name is derived from Cenchreus the son of Pirene. There are busts in this place, which they call *Polyandria*,

of those Argives that vanquished the Lacedæmonians at Hysia. I find that this battle took place when Pisistratus ruled over the Athenians, and in the fourth year of that Olympiad in which Eurybotus the Athenian was declared victor in the stadium. But on descending to the more depressed parts, you will see the ruins of Hysiæ, a town once situated in Argolis; and in which place, as they report, the Lacedæmonians once suffered a loss.

CHAPTER XXV.

But the way which leads from Argi to Mantinea is not the same with the road to Tegea, but commences from the gates which are near Dira. In this road there is a temple with a twofold entrance, one of which looks to the east, and the other to the west. And in the former of these there is a wooden statue of Venus, and in the latter, of Mars. These statues are said to have been dedicated by Polynices and the Argives, who in conjunction with him revenged the injuries of his brother. Proceeding from hence, when you have passed over the torrent which is called Charadrus, you will arrive at a place which is denominated Œnoe, from Œneus, according to the report of the Argives. For they say, that Œneus, who reigned in Ætolia, being driven from his kingdom by the sons of Agrius, fled to Diomed at Argos; and that Diomed led an army into Calydonia, and revenged the injuries of Œneus, but told him, that he could not remain in his dominions. He exhorted him, therefore, to follow him to Argos, with which Œneus complied, and in consequence of this obtained many honours, which it was proper a grandfather should receive, and caused the place where he died to be called Œnoe.

But above Œnoe you will perceive the mountain Artemisium, and on its summit a temple of Diana. The same mountain, too, contains the fountains of the river Inachus: for the fountains are certainly here, though the water does not rise out of the earth in any great quantity. Except this there is nothing worthy of inspection. But there is another way from the gates near Dira, which leads to Lyrcea. Lynceus is said to have fled into this place, when he alone of his fifty brothers was spared, and to have dedicated on this account a statue holding a torch. For it was agreed upon between him and Hypermnestra, that if he escaped the stratagems of Danaus, he should hold up a torch; and they say, that Hypermnestra from Larissa held up another torch, to signify that she had escaped the danger of the attempt. And in commemoration of this affair, the Argives every year celebrate the festival of *Torches*. This town was then called Lyncea; but when Lyrcus afterwards came to reside in it, who was the bastard son of Abas, it was called by his name.

Among the ruins there are other things not worthy of a description, and a statue of Lyrcus on a column. But Lyrcea is distant from Argi about sixty stadia, and as many from Orneæ. But Homer, in his catalogue of the Greeks that went against Troy, does not mention the city Lyrcea; from whence it appears, that the city at that time was not inhabited: but with respect to Orneæ (for it was then inhabited), as it is situated in the country of the Argives, it is mentioned by the poet, before either Phlius or Sicyon. This city derives its name from Orneus the son of Erectheus. But Peteus was the son of Orneus, and Mnestheus of Peteus, who, in conjunction with the Athenians, assisted Agamemnon in subverting the kingdom of Priam. But afterwards the Argives destroyed the authority of the Orneatæ; and when this took place, they cohabited with the Argives. In Orneæ there is at present

a temple of Diana, and a wooden statue in an upright position. There is also another temple, dedicated to all the gods in common. But Phliasia and Sicyonia are situated beyond Orneæ.

Again, as you go from Argi to Epidauria, you will perceive a building on the right hand, which for the most part resembles a pyramid. This building contains shields, which are fashioned after the manner of the Argolic shields: and they report, that there was a battle in this place between Proetus and Acrisius concerning the supreme authority, and that afterwards a reconciliation took place between them, because the one was not able to govern with any stability without the other. They farther add, that each army then for the first time fought with shields, and that those who fell on either side (because they were citizens and allies) were buried in one common tomb. But, on departing from hence, and turning to the right hand, you will see the ruins of Tiryns. The Argives, indeed, subverted the kingdom of the Tirynthians, because, when they had received them into the city, they wished to increase Argos. They report, too, that the hero Tirynthus, from whom the city is denominated, was the son of Argus, and the grandson of Jupiter. But the wall, which is all that is left of the ruins, is, according to report, the work of the Cyclops. It is raised from rude stones, each of which is so large that the least cannot be moved out of its place by two oxen yoked together. But formerly small stones were inserted, that each of them might harmonise as much as possible with the greater ones. On descending to the sea, too, you may perceive the bed-chambers of the daughters of Proetus. But on returning into the public road, you will arrive at Midea, which is on the left hand. They report, that Electryon, the father of Alcmene, reigned here; but at present nothing of Midea is left but the bare ground. But in the

direct road to Epidaurus there is a village called Lessa, in which there is a temple of Minerva, and a wooden statue of the goddess, which differs in no respect from that which is in the tower of Larissa. Above Lessa, the mountain Arachnæus presents itself to the view, which was formerly called Sapyselaton during the reign of Inachus. In this mountain there are altars of Jupiter and Juno, upon which the inhabitants sacrifice when they are in want of rain.

CHAPTER XXVI.

About Lessa, the borders of the Epidaurians join with the land of the Argives: but before you enter this city, you will arrive at the temple of Æsculapius. I am, however, ignorant who were the inhabitants of this place, before it was possessed by the Epidauri; nor could I learn from the natives, who were the posterity of Epidaurus. They report, indeed, that Pityreus, the grandson of Ion, and the great-grandson of Xuthus, reigned before the Dorians came to Peloponnesus. They add, too, that the land was delivered to Deiphontes and the Argives without any contention, and that Pityreus came with his citizens to Athens, and there fixed his habitation, but that Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of the Epidaurian land. These Argives, however, revolted from the others, on the death of Temenus: for Deiphontes and Hyrnethus hated the children of Temenus; and the army which followed them paid more attention to Deiphontes and Hyrnethus than to Cisus and his brothers. But Epidaurus, from whom the country was denominated according to the Eleans, was the offspring of Pelops. According to the opinion, however, of the Argives, and the assertions of those verses which they call the great Eœæ, Argus the

son of Jupiter was the father of Epidaurus. But the Epidaurians assert, that Epidaurus was the son of Apollo.

But they assign the following reason for this land being particularly sacred to Æsculapius. They say, then, that Phlegyas came to Peloponnesus under a pretext of seeing the country, but in reality that he might inspect the multitude of the inhabitants, and learn whether there was a great quantity of fighting men. For Phlegyas was the most warlike of all at that time, seizing from every quarter both fruits and other necessaries of life. But when he came to Peloponnesus, his daughter followed him, at the same time concealing from her father that she was pregnant from Apollo. As soon, therefore, as she was delivered from the country of the Epidaurians, she exposed the infant on that mountain which at present they call Titthion, but which was before denominated Myrtion: the name of the mountain being changed, because the infant was suckled by one of those goats which fed about the mountain, the dog in the meantime, that was the guardian of the flock, defending him. Here Aresthanas (for that was the name of the goat-herd), as soon as he found, on numbering his flock, that one goat was missing, as likewise the dog, wandered about every where in order to discover them, and at length finding them, was desirous of taking the boy away: but approaching nearer for this purpose, he beheld a splendour beaming from the infant, and thinking that it was something divine, as indeed it was, departed from the place. But a report was immediately spread through every land and sea, that such as were afflicted with any kind of disease were healed by the boy, and that even the dead were raised to life.

There is also another report concerning him, which is as follows; Coronis, when she was pregnant with Æsculapius, lay with Ischyes the son of Elatus, for which she was destroyed by Diana, who revenged the cause of Apollo;

but while the funeral pile was burning, the boy is said to have been snatched by Mercury from the flames. But the third report appears to me to be the least true, which asserts, that Æsculapius was the offspring of Arsinoe, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apollophanes the Arcadian came to Delphos, for the purpose of inquiring of the god, whether or not Æsculapius was the offspring of Arsinoe, and a citizen of the Messenians, the Pythian deity answered him as follows:

> O Æsculapius! source of mighty joy
> To mortal natures; whom Coronis, fair
> Daughter of Phlegyas, once with me conjoin'd,
> In Epidauria's barren region bore.

And this oracle most eminently evinces, that Æsculapius was not the offspring of Arsinoe; but this report was either devised by Hesiod, or by those who imposed their own verses upon him, for the sake of the Messenians.

But that this deity was born in Epidauria is confirmed from hence: for I find that the most illustrious rites of Æsculapius were derived from Epidaurus; and the Athenians call that day of initiation which they assign to Æsculapius, Epidauria, and report, that on that day they began to pay divine honours to Æsculapius. Archias, too, the son of Aristæchmus, being cured in Epidauria of a spasm which seized him while he was hunting, brought the worship of this god to Pergamus. Afterwards the Smyrnæans, receiving the religious ceremonies of the god from the Pergamenians, built a temple to Æsculapius near the sea, which remains at present. The Æsculapius, too, which is worshipped by the Balanagræ, among the Cyrenæans, under the name of the *Physician*, was taken from Epidauria. But the Æsculapius which is at Lebena, a Cretan city, was made after the similitude of that which is possessed by the Cyrenæans. There is this difference, how-

ever, between the Cyrenæans and Epidaurians, that the Cyrenæans sacrifice goats, though this rite was not delivered by the Epidaurians. But that Æsculapius was from the first considered as a god, and that his fame was not owing to length of time, I find confirmed by various arguments, and even by the authority of Homer, in the following verses, in which Agamemnon thus speaks of Machaon:

> "Talthybius, hither swift, Machaon bring,
> Who from the blameless Æsculapius sprung."

And this is just as if he had said, "Call a man who is the son of a god."

CHAPTER XXVII.

But the sacred grove of Æsculapius is on all sides surrounded with mountains; and within this inclosure it is unlawful for any one either to die, or to be born, agreeable to the law which is established in the island of Delos. But whatever a citizen or a stranger sacrifices, is consumed within this inclosure: and I know that the same custom takes place in Titana. With respect to the statue of Æsculapius, it is about half the size of that of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold. The inscription, too, signifies that it was the work of Thrasymed the Parian, who was the son of Arignotus. But the statue sits on a throne, and holds in one hand a staff, and with the other presses the head of a dragon; and a dog is represented at the feet of the statue. In the throne the works of the Argive heroes are represented, viz. Bellerophon is seen slaying Chimæra, and Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa. But beyond the temple there is a place in which those that supplicate the god sleep. And

in a building not far from hence there is a round figure of white stone, which they call *Tholus*, and which is well worthy of inspection. In this building there is a painting of Pausias, in which Love, having cast aside his bow and arrows, is seen holding instead of these a lyre. There is a painting, too, of *Intoxication*, by the same person, who is represented drinking out of a glass cup: and you not only perceive the glass cup in the picture, but through it the countenance of a woman.

This inclosure formerly contained many pillars, but at present only six remain; and in these the names of the men and women are inscribed that have been cured by the god. The disease, too, of each person is mentioned, and the manner in which he was cured. But all these particulars are written in the Doric tongue. There is besides an ancient pillar, separate from all the rest, in which Hippolytus is said to have dedicated twenty horses to the god. The reports of the Aricini correspond with the inscription of this pillar, viz. that Hippolytus died through the imprecations of Theseus, and that he was restored to life by Æsculapius; but that afterwards he was disobedient to the commands of his father, and that, despising his entreaties, he came into Italy, and there reigned, at the same time dedicating the temple of Aricina Diana. In this place, even at present, those who are victors in a single contest, have the office of priests to the goddess proposed to them as a reward. This contest, however, is not offered to any free person, but only to servants that have fled from their masters.

But among the Epidaurians there is a theatre in a temple, which, in my opinion, deserves more than any thing to be inspected. For the theatres of the Romans, as they surpass others, which are to be found in any part of the world, in their ornaments, so likewise they surpass in magnitude that which is to be seen at Megalopolis in Arcadia.

But, for harmony or beauty, what artist will take upon him to contend with Polycletus? For Polycletus was the artificer of this theatre, and of the round edifice. Within the grove there is a temple of Diana, and an image of Epione, together with the temples of Venus and Themis; and a stadium, such as is usual with the Greeks, which consists for the most part of earth piled in a heap. There is also a fountain here, which, both for its roof and other ornaments, is well worthy of inspection. But the works of Antoninus, a senator of my time, are as follow: A bath of Æsculapius; a temple of those gods which they call Epidotæ; and a temple to Health, to Æsculapius, and to Apollo, with Egyptian appellations. A porch, too, once stood here, which was called Cotyos; but the roof falling off, the whole was destroyed, as being raised from crude tiles. And as the Epidaurians were very much troubled with respect to those that dwelt about the temple, because the women were not delivered in a covered place, and the diseased died in the open air, Antoninus, to remedy this evil, built a dwelling place, in which the sick might die covered, and women without impiety might be delivered. But there are two mountains above the grove, one of which is called Titthion, and the other Cynortium; which contains a temple of Apollo Maleatas. And this temple is one of the ancient works; for the fountain and channel which are about the temple, and the latter of which is filled with water from the god, were made for the Epidaurians by Antoninus.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

All dragons, indeed, but particularly those of a more yellow colour, are considered as sacred to Æsculapius, and

are gentle and harmless towards men. They are alone nourished in the land of the Epidaurians: and I find that the same circumstance takes place in other regions. For Libya alone produces terrestrial crocodiles, which are not less than two cubits in length; and among the Indians alone certain animals, and particularly parrots, are to be found. But the serpents which are called Megalaunæ, which grow to the size of more than thirty cubits, and which are nourished in India and Libya, are, according to the Epidaurians, not dragons, but belong to another species. On ascending the summit of the mountain, you will perceive in the way an olive-tree, which is called *intorted*; and which, as they report, obtained this figure through being bent into an orb by the hand of Hercules. But I am not able to determine whether this is established by the Asinæans as a boundary to the inhabitants of Argolis; for, in consequence of the country being destroyed, nothing clear concerning its boundaries is to be obtained in any other part.

But on the summit of the mountain there is a temple of Coryphæan Diana, which is mentioned by Telesilla, in certain of her verses. And on descending into the city of the Epidaurians, you will perceive a place which is on all sides surrounded with rustic olive trees. This place they call Hyrnethium. But such particulars respecting Hyrnetho, as are reported by the Epidaurians, and are probable, I shall take upon me to relate. Cisus, then, and the other children of Temenus, understood that Deiphontes would be greatly afflicted, if by any means Hyrnetho could be taken from him. In consequence of this, Cerynes and Phalces came to Epidaurus (for the undertaking was not agreeable to the youngest of them, Agræus), and standing in a chariot under the walls, sent a herald to their sister, who was to inform her that they wished to converse with her. As soon, therefore, as she came, the young men in

the first place accused Deiphontes in many respects, and earnestly entreated her to return to Argos, promising, among other things, that they would procure her a husband far better than Deiphontes, and more happy both in the greater quantity of men and in the land which he governed.

Hyrnetho, however, was filled with indignation on hearing their discourse, and answered them, in return, that Deiphontes was a man she very much approved of; that Temenus had no reason to be ashamed of him as his son-in-law, but that they ought rather to be called the murderers than the sons of Temenus. To this reproach they made no reply, but placed her by force in the car, and drove away. As soon, however, as some one of the Epidaurians told Deiphontes that Hyrnetho was taken away by Cerynes and Phalces against her will, he pursued them with great celerity, and the Epidaurians, on hearing the affair, gave him their assistance. But Deiphontes, as soon as he overtook Cerynes, slew him with a dart; but he was afraid to pierce Phalces, who closely embraced Hyrnetho, lest if he should wander from the mark, he should be the death of Hyrnetho. In consequence of this, Deiphontes, by attacking him closely, endeavoured to take him away from Hyrnetho. Phalces, however, by resisting, and drawing his sister with greater violence than he was drawn by Deiphontes, occasioned her death, as she was then in a pregnant state; and perceiving what an impious action he had committed against his sister, drove off the chariot with great vehemence, that he might be out of danger before he was surrounded by all the Epidaurians. But Deiphontes, together with his children (for he had three sons by Hyrnetho, Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeus, and a daughter Orsobia, who according to report was afterwards married to Pamphylus the son of Ægimius) taking away the dead body of Hyrnetho, brought it into this

place, which from that time was called Hyrnethium. Afterwards he raised an heroic monument to her memory, paid her many other honours, and forbade any one to tear off any part of the olive-trees, or of any other tree belonging to that place, and applying it to a profane use, but ordered that every thing which grew there should be sacred to Hyrnetho. Not far, too, from the city there is a sepulchre of Melissa, who was married to Periander the son of Cypselus; and another tomb of Patrocles the father of Melissa, who reigned over the Epidaurians, as his son-in-law Periander did over the Corinthians.

CHAPTER XXIX.

But the city of the Epidaurians contains the following particulars most worthy of being remembered. In the first place there is a temple of Æsculapius, and in it two statues, one of the god himself, and the other of Epione; and they say that Epione was the wife of Æsculapius. These are placed in the open air, and are of Parian stone. But within the walls there is a temple of Bacchus, and a grove of Diana; and the statue of Diana is that of a huntress. There is also a temple of Venus: but the temple, which is situated near the port, on an eminence rising towards the sea, is said to be the temple of Juno. The wooden statue, too, of Minerva, in the tower, is well worthy of inspection, and is called *Cissæa*. But the Æginetæ inhabit that island which is opposite to Epidauria. They report, that this island was not at first immediately inhabited, but that while it was yet a solitary place, Ægina the daughter of Asopus was brought into it by Jupiter, and that it was denominated from her, as prior to this it was called Œnone. As soon, however, as Æacus arrived at years

of maturity, he requested Jupiter to furnish the island with inhabitants; and Jupiter, in compliance with his request, caused men to rise out of the earth, in order to people the island. They know nothing, however, of any one that reigned in this island except Æacus: and, indeed, we are well assured that no one of the sons of Æacus remained in Ægina; for Peleus and Telamon fled the country on account of the slaughter of Phocus.

But the sons of Phocus dwelt in that part about Parnassus which is now called Phocis; and this name was given to the region in the age preceding the present, by Phocus the son of Ornytion, who at that time made it the place of his abode. And during the reign of this Phocus the country about Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis; but afterwards all the neighbouring places were denominated from the son of Æacus; just as those are called Minyæ who border on the Orchomenians, and those who extend as far as to Scarphea, a city of the Locrians. But the kings that reigned in Epirus were the progeny of Peleus. With respect to the sons of Telamon, the race of Ajax is the most obscure of all, because he always lived a private life. Miltiades, however, must be excepted, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and his son Cimon; for both these obtained great renown. But the posterity of Teucer reigned over the Cyprians till the time of Evagoras: and the poet Asius relates, that Panopeus and Crisus were the sons of Phocus.

Again, from Panopeus Epeus descended, who made the wooden horse, according to Homer. But Pylades was the grandson of Crisus, and his father was Strophius the son of Crisus, and his mother Anaxiba the sister of Agamemnon. And such is the race of those that are called the Æacidæ, who, proceeding from the same stock, migrated into different regions. In succeeding times, however, that part of the Argives which occupied Epi-

daurus with Deiphontes passed into Ægina, and being mingled with the natives, established the Dorian manners and language in the island. After this the power of the Æginetæ was so increased, that they surpassed the Athenians in naval strength; and in the Persian war, next to the Athenians, they brought the greatest number of ships of all the forces. Their kingdom, however, was at length subverted by the Athenians, and they migrated into Thyræa in Argolis, which was given to them by the Lacedæmonians. But though, when they were settled in the island, they took the three-oared galleys of the Athenians, yet they could never arrive at that degree of power and wealth which they formerly possessed.

But Ægina is of all the Grecian islands the most difficult of access by sea; for it is on all sides surrounded with latent rocks and dangerous prominences. Æacus is reported to have raised these masses in order to prevent the depredations of robbers, and frustrate hostile invasions. But near that port, in which ships for the most part harbour, there is a temple of Venus. And in the most conspicuous part of the city there is an inclosure which they call Æaceum, which is of a square figure, and consists of white stone. In the entrance of this inclosure there are statues of those men who were once sent by the Greeks to Æacus; in relating the cause of which embassy the Æginetæ agree with the other Greeks. But their narration is as follows: When Greece was afflicted for a time with a dryness from vehement heat, and divinity neither rained on the region beyond the isthmus, nor on the Peloponnesians, certain persons were sent to Delphos, in order to learn from the oracle the cause and remedy of the evil. But the Pythian deity answered them, that they should propitiate Jupiter, and employ Æacus, if he was willing to comply, as their deprecator. In consequence of this answer they sent to every city to Æacus, entreating

him to undertake the supplication. Æacus, therefore, having sacrificed and prayed to Panellenian Jupiter, caused Greece to enjoy the benefit of rain. And the Æginetæ, in memory of the event, placed these statues of the ambassadors.

Within this inclosure, there are olives of an ancient plantation, and an altar which is not much raised from the earth: but that this altar is the same with that which is called the tomb of Æacus, belongs to the arcane traditions to evince. But near the Æaceum there is a tomb of Phocus, consisting of earth piled up in a heap, and surrounded with a fountain; and a rough stone is placed over it. This stone was used by Peleus and Telamon instead of a quoit, when they invited Phocus to the quinquertium; and Peleus, instead of sending this stone to its proper place, is said to have designedly hurled it at Phocus. But the brothers, by this action, very much gratified their mother; for they descended from the daughter of Sciron, but Phocus from the sister of Thetis, if the report of the Greeks may be credited. On this account, it appears to me, that Pylades planned the death of Neoptolemus, not only on account of his friendship for Orestes, but that he might revenge his great-grandfather's cause. And then, indeed, when Phocus died through the blow of the quoit, the brothers, who were the offspring of Endeides, fled in a ship from the island. But Telamon afterwards sent a messenger to his father, pretending that the death of Phocus was an involuntary action. Æacus, however, would not suffer him to enter the island; but told him, that he might apologize for his conduct, either from his ship, or, if he were so inclined, from a mass of earth piled up in the sea. Telamon, therefore, entering by night into the port which is called *secret*, raised a mass of earth, which remains even at present; but being condemned, as contributing to the death of Phocus, he set sail a second time

for Salamis. But not far from the *secret port* there is a theatre which deserves to be inspected, and which, both for its magnitude and construction, is next to that among the Epidaurians. Behind this there is a stadium, which, with one of its sides, supports the theatre, and is in its turn supported by it.

CHAPTER XXX.

In this place there are temples not much distant from each other; viz. one of Apollo, another of Diana, and a third of Bacchus. But, in the temple of Apollo, there is a naked wooden statue of the god, produced by the art of the country. But the statues of Diana and Bacchus are clothed; and that of Bacchus has a beard. The temple of Æsculapius, however, is in a different place, and contains a statue of stone in a sitting posture. But the Æginetæ reverence Hecate above all the divinities, and celebrate her mysteries every year. They assert to, that the Thracian Orpheus established this initiation. But the temple of the goddess stands in an inclosure, and contains a wooden statue, the work of Myron; both the face and the other parts of which are fashioned from the same wood. It appears to me, too, that Alcamenes first made for the Athenians the statue of Hecate, with three bodies joined in one, which the Athenians call *Epipyrgidia*, and which stands near the temple of *winged Victory*.

But in Ægina, in the road leading to the mountain of Panellenian Jupiter, there is a temple of Aphæa, in which Pindar composed verses for the Æginetæ. But the Cretans report (for they also possess relations peculiar to the country concerning the goddess), that Eubulus was the son of that Carmanor who purified Apollo, from the slaughter

of Python; and that Britomartis was the offspring of Jupiter and Carme the daughter of Eubulus. They add, that she delighted in the course and in hunting, and that she was particularly dear to Diana: that in consequence of being beloved by Minos, she fled from his pursuit, and, casting herself into the sea, fell into a net, which had been thrown there for the purpose of catching fish, and was afterwards made a goddess by Diana. But not only the Cretans, but likewise the Æginetæ worship Britomartis; asserting at the same time, that she appeared in their island. And Aphæa with the Æginetæ, is the same as Dictynna with the Cretans. But the mountain Panellenium contains nothing, except the temple of Jupiter, which is worthy of description. And this temple was, they report, dedicated by Æacus to Jupiter.

With respect to Auxesia and Lamia, how, when divinity withheld rain from the Epidaurians, these wooden statues were made, in consequence of an oracle, from an olive-tree, which they received from the Athenians; and how, when the Epidaurians refused to pay the tribute ordered by the Athenians, because these statues were possessed by the Æginetæ, all the Athenians that passed over to Ægina on this account perished;—these particulars, as they are accurately related by Herodotus, it would be superfluous for me to repeat. This one thing only I shall mention, that I have seen these statues, and sacrificed to them; and that the mode of sacrifice is the same as at Eleusis. And thus much concerning Ægina and Æacus, and the works which the island contains.

But the Trœzenii border on the Epidaurians. These people boast of the affairs of their country in a most remarkable degree; and assert that Orus was first born in their country. But it appears to me, that Orus is an Egyptian, and by no means a Grecian name. They report, however, that he reigned there, and that the land

was called, from him, Oræa; but that afterwards Althepus, the son of Neptune from Leis, the daughter of Orus receiving the kingdom from Orus, called the country Althepia. In the meantime, while he possessed the government, Neptune and Minerva contended for the region: and the contest ended in agreeing to share the honours of the country in common; for so Jupiter had settled the affair. On this account they venerated Minerva, calling her Polias and Sthenias; and likewise Neptune, under the appellation of *the king*. The ancient coin, too, of this people, bears the signature of a trident, and the head of Minerva. But after Althepus, Saron reigned; and they report that he built a temple of Diana Saronis near the sea, in a muddy place, which on this account came to be called the Phœbæan marsh. They farther report, that Saron, as he particularly delighted in hunting, pursued a stag once as far as to the sea; that not being able to overtake the stag, he fell into this marsh; and that the animal, swimming to some distance from the shore, Saron pursued her through the sea; but being at length spent with fatigue, and merged under the waves, he there lost his life. But his dead body was driven by the waves near the Phœbæan marsh, and was afterwards brought to the grove of Diana, and buried within the inclosure of the temple: and from this circumstance the sea came to be called Saronis, instead of Phœbæa.

They know nothing however of the latter kings who reigned as far as to Hyperetes and Anthas; and they report, that these were the sons of Neptune and Alcyone the daughter of Atlas, and that the cities Hyperea and Anthea in that region were built by them. They add, that Ætius the son of Anthas, receiving the kingdom from his father and a divine power, called one of these cities Posidonias. For Trœzen and Pittheus coming to Ætius, made three kings instead of one. But that the children

of Pelops were more firmly established than the others, may be inferred from hence, that after the death of Trœzen, Pittheus having reduced Hyperea and Anthea into the form of one city, by collecting the multitude of each into one, called it Trœzen, after the name of his brother. But many years afterwards, the descendants of Ætius the son of Anthas being sent into a colony, brought Myndus and Halicarnassus into Caria: and the sons of Trœzen, viz. Anaphlystus and Sphettus migrated into Attica, and the people from these derived their names. But here I shall not relate any one of those particulars concerning Theseus the grandson of Pittheus from his daughter, which are known to every one, but shall only observe thus much respecting him at present. When the children of Hercules returned to Peloponnesus, the Trœzenians received the Dorienses from Argos into their city, as being a people who, prior to this, were obedient to the Argives; for Homer, in his catalogue of the Greeks, says that they were governed by Diomed; since, indeed, Diomed and Euryalus the son of Mecisteus, having taken upon them the guardianship of Cyanippus the son of Ægialeus, brought the Argives to Troy. But Sthenelus (as I have observed before) was of a much more illustrious origin, as being descended from the Anaxagoridæ; and to him the government of the Argives most eminently belonged. And such is the history of the Trœzenian affairs, exclusive of those cities which, it is said, they caused to be inhabited. I shall now relate the ornaments of their temples, and the rest of their illustrious works.

CHAPTER XXXI.

In the forum of the Trœzenians there is a temple and statue of Diana, who is called *the Saviour*. This temple is said to have been dedicated by Theseus, who gave the goddess this appellation when he returned from Crete, after having slain Asterion the son of Minos. But it appears that this action of Theseus is the most worthy of all others of being related, not only, in my opinion, because Asterion surpassed in boldness all those that Theseus slew, but because after his death, Theseus having secretly escaped from the labyrinth, and vanquished all the difficulties of the place, with great propriety asserted, that both he and his companions were preserved by the providence of the gods. In this temple, too, there are altars of the subterranean gods: and they report, that Semele was led hither from Hades by Bacchus, and the three-headed dog by Hercules. But for my own part, I am persuaded, that Semele never died, but that she was the wife of Jupiter. And with respect to Pluto's dog, I shall in another place relate what appears to me to be the truth concerning him.

The tomb of Pittheus is behind this temple; and there are three thrones upon it of white stone. Upon these thrones, they report, that Pittheus and his associates sat in judgment. But not far from hence is the temple of the Muses, which is said to have been built by Ardalus the son of Vulcan. They add, that this Ardalus invented the pipe, and that the Muses were called from him Ardalidæ. In this temple, too, they report that Pittheus taught the art of speaking: and I myself indeed have read a book which was written by Pittheus, and published by an Epidaurian. At a considerable distance from this Museum

there is an ancient altar, which Ardalus is reported to have dedicated. Upon this altar they sacrifice to the Muses, and to Sleep, asserting that Sleep above all the deities is friendly to the Muses.

But near the theatre, Hippolytus fabricated a temple of Lycean Diana. Why the goddess is so called, I could never learn from any of the historians: but it appears to me, that this appellation originated either from Hippolytus slaying the wolves, with which the land was infested; or that being related to the Amazons on his mother's side, in memory of this he called Diana Lycea; or perhaps the name arose from a circumstance of which I am ignorant. But that stone behind the temple which is called Sacred, is said to be the very stone upon which nine Trœzenians purified Orestes, from the murder of his mother. Not far, too, from the temple of Lycean Diana, there are certain altars, not much distant from each other. The first of these is sacred to Bacchus, who is called from a certain oracle *Saotas*, or *the Saviour*. The second is called the altar of the Themidæ, and is said to have been dedicated by Pittheus: and they appear to me to have dedicated with very great propriety an altar to *the Sun the Liberator*, through whom they were freed from subjection to Xerxes and the Persians. They report, too, that Pittheus built and adorned the temple of Thearian Apollo, which is the most ancient of all that I am acquainted with. There is, indeed, an ancient temple of Minerva among the Phocænses in Ionia, which was destroyed by Harpagus the Mede, and an ancient temple of Pythian Apollo among the Samians; but these were built much posterior to that of the Trœzenians. But the statue which exists at present was dedicated by Auliscus, and is the work of the Trœzenian Hermon. The wooden statues, too, of the Dioscuri, are the work of this Hermon.

But in the porch of the forum there are statues of

women and boys, from stone. And these women are those to whom, together with their sons, the Athenians committed the preservation of the Trœzenians, at that time when they considered themselves as unable with land forces to resist the attacks of the Persians. They report, however, that statues (for there are not many) were not placed to all the women, but only to those that surpassed in dignity the rest. But before the temple of Apollo there is a building, which they call the tabernacle of Orestes: for before he was purified from the blood of his mother, no one of the Trœzenians was willing to receive him under his roof. But Orestes residing in this tabernacle was purified and fed till his expiation was accomplished. And even at present, the posterity of those that were here purified, feast on stated days in this place. But certain expiations being buried not far from the tabernacle, they say, that a laurel grew near them, which at present is to be seen before the tabernacle.

They report, too, that among other purifications which were employed by Orestes, he used the water of Hippocrene, for the Trœzenians also have a fountain called Hypocrene, the account of which is different from that of the Bœotians. For the Bœotians assert nothing more than that the ground being struck by the hoof of the horse Pegasus, a fountain immediately sprung up; but the Trœzenians add, that Bellerophon came to Trœzen, for the purpose of requesting Pittheus to give him Æthra for a wife; and that before the marriage took place, it so happened that he was obliged to fly from Corinth. There is in this place, too, a statue of Mercury, who is called Polygius. They report, that Hercules dedicated a club to this statue, made from the wild olive-tree, and (if it may be believed) that the club took root in the earth, and reblossomed: and, indeed, a wild olive-tree is to be seen in this place even at present. They farther add, that Her-

cules found this tree from which he made the club near Saronis. There is also a temple here of Jupiter, who is called *the Saviour*, and which they say was raised by Ætius the son of Anthas, when he succeeded his father in the kingdom. They have a river, too, which they call *Chrysorrhoas*, or *flowing with gold:* and they report, that when, during a great dryness from heat, they were once nine years without rain, other streams of water were dried up, but that this Chrysorrhoas continued to flow at that time just the same as before.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A most beautiful grove, too, is dedicated here to Hippolytus the son of Theseus, which contains a temple and an ancient statue. This grove is said to have been planted by Diomed, who, according to report, first sacrificed to Hippolytus. But the priest of Hippolytus, among the Trœzenians, officiates in that capacity as long as he lives; and sacrifices are established every year. Besides the other sacred rites, too, every virgin, prior to her marriage, cuts off her hair, and consecrates it in this temple of Hippolytus. The Trœzenians, however, are not willing to admit that Hippolytus was torn in pieces by marine horses, nor do they know where he was buried; but they are of opinion, that, in consequence of the honour which he received from the gods, he forms that celestial constellation which is called the Charioteer. But within this inclosure there is a temple of Apollo Epibaterius, or *the Climber*, and which was dedicated by Diomed, after having escaped the tempest which happened to the Greeks on their returning from Troy. Diomed, too, first instituted Pythian games in honour of Apollo. But with respect to Lamia and Auxesia (for these also are honoured by the

Trœzenians) their relation is not the same with that of the Epidaurians and Æginetæ; for they report, that virgins came from Crete, and, in consequence of a sedition raging in every part of the city, were stoned to death by the opposing multitude. And in remembrance of this affair they celebrate a festival, which they call Lithobolia, or *a stoning to death.*

But near another part of the inclosure there is a stadium which bears the name of Hippolytus, and above this there is a temple of Venus *the Speculatrix,* from whence Phædra beheld Hippolytus when he exercised himself in the stadium. Here, too, there is to be seen (which I have mentioned before) a myrtle with perforated leaves, which were pierced by Phædra, when she found no alleviation of her malady, and no rest through her love. There is also a tomb of Phædra, which is not far from the sepulchre of Hippolytus, who lies buried near the myrtle tree. But the statue of Æsculapius was made by Timotheus; though the Trœzenians assert, that this is not the statue of Æsculapius, but of Hippolytus. Indeed, I myself saw the house of Hippolytus; but before this statue there is a fountain which is called Herculeus, because, as the Trœzenians report, the water of it was discovered by Hercules. In the tower, too, there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Sthenias; and the wooden image of the goddess was made by Callon Æginetis. This Callon was the disciple of Tectæus and Angelion, who made for the Delians the statue of Apollo: and Angelion and Tectæus learned their art from Dipœnus and Scyllis.

On descending from this tower, you will perceive the temple of Pan *the Liberator:* for this deity is said to have shown the Trœzenians, in a dream, the means of being freed from a famine, with which the Athenians were afflicted beyond the rest of the Greeks. But on descending into Trœzenia, you will see a temple of Isis, and above it a temple of Venus Acræa. And the temple, indeed, was

raised by the Halicarnassenses in the metropolis Trœzen, but the statue of Isis was dedicated by the common people of the Trœzenians. But as you pass through the mountains towards Hermione, you will see a fountain of the river Hylycus, which was at first called Taurius; and together with this the stone, as it is called, of Theseus, which changed its name, because Theseus took from under it the slippers and sword which had been concealed by Ægeus; for, prior to this circumstance, it was denominated the altar of Sthenius Jupiter. Near this stone, too, there is a temple of Venus Sponsa, or *the bride*, which was raised by Theseus when he married Helen.

But beyond the walls there is a temple of Phytalmius Neptune: for, in consequence of Neptune being angry with them, they report that he caused the region to bear no fruits, through sending the salt-water on the seeds and roots of plants, till, moved by sacrifices and prayers, he no longer injured the vegetable productions of the land. But above the temple of Neptune, there is a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus, which was dedicated, as they report, by Althippus. On descending, too, to the port, which is near a town called Celenderis, there is a place which is denominated Natalitia, and in which they say Theseus was born. Before this place there is a temple of Mars; and it was here that Theseus vanquished the Amazons in battle. But these Amazons formed a part of that army which fought in Attica with Theseus and the Athenians. As you proceed to the sea Psiphæum, too, a native wild olive-tree, which they call an intorted Rhachus, presents itself to the view; for the Trœzenians call all those olive-trees Rachi, which bear no fruit, and besides this denominate every tree of this kind Cotinos, Phylias, and Elæus. But they denominate this olive-tree intorted, because the chariot of Hippolytus was overturned, through the reins of the horses being entangled in the trunk of the tree.

Not far from hence there is a temple of Diana Saronia, the particulars of which I have already explained, and shall only add further, that they celebrate a festival every year to Diana, which is called Saronia.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

With respect to the islands of the Trœzenians, one of these is near the continent, and may be passed into on foot. This island was formerly called Sphæria, and came to be denominated Sacred on the following account. There is a sepulchre in it of one Sphærus, and Sphærus is said to have been the charioteer of Pelops. But Æthra, in consequence of a dream from Minerva, coming into this island with funeral sacrifices to Sphærus, was on her arrival met and ravished by Neptune. Hence Æthra established a temple of Minerva Apaturia, or *the Deceiver*, and called the island *Sacred*, which was before denominated Sphæria. She likewise instituted, that the Trœzenian virgins should, prior to their marriage, dedicate a zone to Minerva Apaturia. But, as they report, Calaurea was formerly sacred to Apollo, *i. e.* at that time when the Delphi were sacred to Neptune; but these divinities changed the places among themselves. And concerning this affair they produce the following oracle: "It is just, that Delos and Calaurea should be inhabited, together with divine Pytho and windy Tænarus."

But in Calaurea there is a holy temple of Neptune, and a virgin performs in it the office of the priesthood, till she is fit for marriage. Within the inclosure of the temple, too, there is a sepulchre of Demosthenes, in which, as it appears to me, the injustice of fortune towards worthy men is most eminently evinced, as was likewise the case with Homer long before. For she was not content with

depriving Homer of sight, but that she might add evil to evil, she so oppressed him with poverty, that he was obliged to beg his bread, wandering through every part of the earth: but she compelled Demosthenes to experience banishment in his old age, and to destroy himself. But respecting Demosthenes much has been said, both by others and myself, and from which it appears that he did not take the money which Harpalus brought from Asia. I will, however, relate how that which was afterwards reported of him took place: Harpalus then flying from Athens, when he had passed over into Crete with a fleet, was shortly after slain by the servants who assisted him in his undertakings. It is, however, reported by some, that he was slain by the stratagems of Pausanias the Macedonian, at that time when Philoxenus of Macedon seized the steward of Demosthenes, as he was flying from Rhodes; this Philoxenus being the same that demanded Harpalus of the Athenians. But Philoxenus having obtained information respecting all those that had taken money from Harpalus, gave their names in the letters which he sent to the Athenians about this affair, and mentioned the sum each person had received. Yet in these letters he made no mention of Demosthenes, though he was particularly odious to Alexander, and had offended Philoxenus himself. Demosthenes, however, is even yet honoured in other parts of Greece, and by the inhabitants of Calaurea.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

But there is an isthmus in the country of Trœzenia, which for a long space extends itself into the sea. In this isthmus there is a town of no great magnitude, near the sea, which is inhabited, and is called Methana. This

town contains a temple of Isis; and in the forum there is a statue of Mercury, and another of Hercules. About the distance of thirty stadia from this town there are hot baths. They report, that when Antigonus the son of Demetrius reigned over the Macedonians, this water was seen for the first time; and that it did not immediately exhibit the appearance of water, but that a great quantity of fire boiled up from the earth, and that after this was extinguished, water flowed in its stead. These baths remain even now, and are both hot, and extremely salt. But there is not any cold water near at hand for him that washes here, nor is it safe to swim in the sea, on account of the great quantity of savage beasts and dogs with which it is infested.

But I shall now relate that which appeared to me particularly wonderful in Methana. The south-west wind blowing from the Saronic port on the vines, dries up their blossoms by its heat. But whenever this is the case, while the wind yet blows, two men take a cock which has white feathers through the whole of its body, and tear it to pieces standing in opposite directions. After this they run round the vines, each bearing in his hand one half of the cock, and meeting at the place from whence they began to run, they there bury it in the ground. And this method was invented by them as a remedy against the noxious influence of the south-west wind. But they call the small islands which are situated before this region, and are nine in number, the islands of Pelops. They report, too, that one of these islands was once deprived of the benefit of rain; but whether or not this was really the case, I have not been able to learn. This is, however, asserted by the inhabitants of Methana. Indeed, I myself saw men who averted tempests by sacrifices and incantations.

But Methana is an isthmus of Peloponnesus, and Her-

mione borders on the isthmus of Trœzen. The Hermionenses, too, report, that the builder of the ancient city was Hermion the son of Europs: and Herophanes the Trœzenian writes, that Europs was the bastard son of Phoroneus, because the government of the Argives would never have been the portion of Argus the son of Niobe, who was the daughter of Phoroneus, if Phoroneus had possessed any legitimate son. But for my own part, though I know that Phoroneus died after his legitimate son Europs, yet I am persuaded that Europs was never equal in power to the son of Niobe, and who was considered as the son of Jupiter. In latter times, too, the Dorienses from Argos dwelt in Hermione: but it does not appear that the Hermionenses ever fought with the Argives, though this is asserted by the Argives. But there is a road from Trœzen to Hermione by a stone which was formerly called the altar of Sthenius Jupiter, but which, after Theseus had taken away the particulars by which it might be known, was called, and is so at present, by the name of Theseus.

As you pass, therefore, by this stone, along the mountainous road, you will perceive a temple of Apollo, who is called Platanistius. In this place, too, there is a town called Ilei, and in it temples of Ceres and Proserpine. But near the sea, in the boundaries of Hermione, there is a temple of Ceres who is surnamed Thermesia: and at the distance of eighty stadia from hence, is the promontory of Scyllæum, which was denominated from the daughter of Nisus. For after Minos had taken Nisæa and Megara, in consequence of her betraying these cities, he not only refused to marry her, but ordered the Cretans to throw her into the sea; and the waves afterwards wafted her dead body to this promontory. But her tomb is nowhere to be seen; for her corpse, as they report, remained in the open air, till it was torn in pieces by marine birds. But as you

sail from Scyllæum towards the city you will perceive another promontory, which is called Bucephalus: and after this promontory there are certain islands. The first of these is called Haluisa, and contains a port, which serves as a convenient harbour for ships. The next is Pityusa; and the third they denominate Aristera. After you have sailed by these, you will meet with another promontory raising itself from the continent, and which is called Acra.

But after this follows the island Trinacria; and a mountain Buporthmus, which raises itself in the sea from Peloponnesus. In this mountain there are temples of Ceres and Proserpine, and a temple of Minerva, who is called Promachorma. But an island called Aperopia is situated before Buporthmus; and at no great distance from this there is another island, which is denominated Hydrea. After this, a lunar-form shore extends itself through the continent; and this is followed by a coast, which reaches as far as to the temple of Neptune, and which commences from the eastern and ends in the western part of the sea. This coast contains certain ports; and its length is about seven stadia, and its greatest breadth not more than three stadia. The ancient city of the Hermionenses formerly stood here, and even at present contains certain temples; that of Neptune, in the beginning of the coast; but in the parts more elevated from the sea, a temple of Minerva, and together with it the foundations of the stadium, in which the sons of Tyndarus used to exercise themselves, according to report.

There is also another temple of Minerva, of no great magnitude, the roof of which has fallen off. There is a temple, too, of the Sun, and a grove sacred to the Graces. Besides these, there are temples to Serapis and Isis, which are surrounded with an inclosure of chosen stones; and in these temples arcane sacred rites are performed to Ceres. And such are the particulars which the Hermionenses

possessed in that coast. But that which is at present the city of the Hermionenses, is distant from the promontory, which contains the temple of Neptune, about four stadia, and having its first parts situated in a level, gently raises itself to a steep. But the eminence to which it raises itself is called Pron, or steep. All Hermione, too, is surrounded with a wall, and affords many particulars which deserve to be related, and among which the following are, in my opinion, the most remarkable. In the first place, there is a temple of Venus, who is called both Pontia and Limenia, i. e. *Marine* and *Opportune*. The statue of the goddess is of white stone, is very large, and deserves to be inspected for the artifice of its construction. There is another temple, too, of Venus, who, among other honours which are paid to her by the Hermionenses, receives a sacrifice from virgins and widows, prior to their nuptials. There are likewise two temples here dedicated to Ceres Thermesia; one of which is situated in the borders of the Trœzenians, in those towns which yet remain, and the other in this very city itself.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Near this temple there is a temple of Bacchus Melanægis, in honour of whom musical games are every year celebrated, and contests of swimming and sailing are established. There is a temple, too, of Diana, who is called Iphigenia, and a brazen statue of Neptune standing with one of his feet on a dolphin. But, on entering into the temple of Vesta, you will not see any statue, but only an altar, on which they sacrifice to the goddess. There are three temples, too, of Apollo, and three statues of the god; one of which is without a name, the second they call Pythæus, and the third Orios. And the name Pythæus,

indeed, they derived from the Argives; for Telesilla says, that Pythæus the son of Apollo came to the Argives the first of all the Greeks. But I cannot clearly assign the reason why they call Apollo, Orios. I conjecture, indeed, that in consequence of having obtained the borders of their country either by arms or natural right, they established honours to Apollo Orios. But the Hermionenses assert, that the temple of Fortune is the most recent of all their buildings. This temple contains a colossal statue of the goddess, of Parian stone. And with respect to the two fountains which they possess, they assert, that one of these is very ancient, that the water flows into it unapparently, and that it would never fail though the whole city should derive its water from thence: but the other fountain was constructed in my time: and the place from whence the water flows into it is called Pratum.

But that which is most worthy of inspection in Pratum is a temple of Ceres, which, according to the Hermionenses, was raised by Clymenus the son of Phoroneus, and his sister Chthonia. But the Argives report, that when Ceres came to Argolis, she was hospitably received by Athera and Mysius; but that Colontas neither invited the goddess to his house, nor paid her any other honours, and that this conduct was not agreeable to his daughter Chthonia. They report, therefore, that Colontas was burnt together with his house, but that Chthonia was brought to Hermione by Ceres, and that she there dedicated a temple to the goddess. Ceres, indeed, is called Chthonia, and a festival called Chthonia is celebrated in honour of her during the summer. This ceremony is performed as follows: The priests of the goddess lead the pomp, together with the annual magistrates; and these are followed by women and men. It is usual, too, for the boys to lead the goddess in a solemn manner; and these are clothed in white, and have garlands on their heads. But these gar-

lands are plaited together from a flower, which the inhabitants call Comosandalus. It appears to me, that this flower is a hyacinth; for it is similar to it, both in magnitude and colour, and contains letters significant of sorrow. And lastly, the procession is closed by those who each of them lead a heifer chosen from the herd, distended with bonds, and as yet mischievous through fierceness. After this, some of the train bring one of these heifers freed from her bonds into the temple, and others who stand before the open doors, as soon as they see that the heifer is within the temple, shut the doors: and four old women, that are left within, afterwards despatch her; one of them, just as it may happen, cutting the heifer's throat with a scythe. Then again the doors being opened, such as are employed for this purpose bring into the temple a second, third, and fourth heifer, and so on, till all of them are slain by the old women.

Another wonderful circumstance, too, takes place in this sacrifice; for, on whatever side the first heifer falls, all the rest necessarily fall on the same side. And such is the mode of sacrifice among the Hermionenses. But before the temple there are statues of those women that have acted as priestesses to the goddess. There are, however, not many of these: and when you have entered into the temple you will perceive thrones upon which the old women slew the heifers, and statues not very ancient of Minerva and Ceres. But that which they more religiously venerate than any thing else, I neither saw myself, nor is any man permitted to see it, whether he be a stranger or a citizen; for this is known only to the old women. There is also another temple surrounded on all sides with statues; and this is opposite to Chthonia, and is called Clymenum. In this they sacrifice to Clymenus, though I do not think that any Argive of this name ever came to Hermione; but it appears to me, that this is an epithet of the god who is

said to reign under the earth. Besides this there is another temple, and a statue of Mars. But on the right hand of Chthonia there is a porch which is called by the inhabitants Echus, and in which if a man speaks the least possible, his voice is immediately tripled. Behind this temple there are three places, one of which the Hermionenses call the region of Clymenus, the second the region of Pluto, and the third the Acherusian marsh. All these are inclosed with stone bulwarks: and in that of Clymenus there is a chasm of the earth, through which, as the Hermionenses report, Hercules drew up the dog of Pluto. But near the gate, which leads in a direct line to Mases, there is within a wall a temple of Lucina. They every day, indeed, venerate this goddess in the highest degree, with sacrifices, fumigations, and gifts; but, except the priestesses, it is not lawful for any one to behold the statue of the goddess.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

But in the direct road to Mases, when you have proceeded to the distance of about seven stadia, and have turned on the left hand, you will perceive a road which leads to Halice. Indeed, at present, Halice is a solitary place, though it was once inhabited: and there is a history of a certain Halicensian citizen on the pillars of the Epidaurians, in which the cures performed on him by Æsculapius are described. I do not, however, know of any other writing worthy of belief, in which any mention is made either of the city Halice, or its inhabitants. But there is a way which leads to Halice, between the hill Pron, and that place which was formerly called Thornax; for afterwards, in consequence of Jupiter's mutation into a cuckoo, it came, as they report, to be called Coccygius.

There are indeed temples even at present on the high mountains; on Coccygius that of Jupiter, and on Pron that of Juno. And besides these, in the bottom parts of Coccygius there is a temple without doors, without a roof, and without a statue. This is said to have been the temple of Apollo.

On departing from hence, in a direct line, you will pass into the road which leads to Mases. This place was formerly a city, and is mentioned by Homer, in his catalogue of the Argives, but at present it is used by the Hermionenses as a haven. But there is a road on the right hand of Mases, which leads to the promontory Struthuntes; and from the summit of this promontory, along the tops of the mountains, there is a road of two hundred and fifty stadia in length, to Philanorium and the Bolei; but the Bolei are heaps of chosen stones. There is a place, too, which they call Gemini, which is distant from the Bolei twenty stadia, and which contains temples of Apollo, Neptune, and Ceres; but the statues are in an upright posture, and are of white stone. Near this place there is a town of the Argives, which was formerly called Asine, and the ruins of which remain near the sea. For when the Lacedæmonians, with their king Nicander, who was the son of Charillus, the grandson of Polydectes, and the great-grandson of Eunomus the son of Prytanis, invaded Argolis with an army, the Asinæi joined their forces with the Lacedæmonians, and together with them laid waste the land of the Argives. But when the forces of the Lacedæmonians returned home, the Argives, with their king Eratus, besieged Asine. And for some time, indeed, the Asinæi sustained the incursions of the enemy, and among others slew Lysistratus, who ranked among the most valiant of the Argives. The wall, however, being at length taken, the Asinæi placed their wives and children in ships, and left the city: after this, the Argives entirely destroyed the town, and added the land to their own dominions. They

spared, however, the temple of Pythean Apollo, as is evident even at present, and buried Lysistratus near it.

But the sea, near Lerna, is distant from the city of the Argives not more than forty stadia. And as you descend to Lerna, Erasinus first presents itself to the view in the road. This river flows into Phrixus, and Phrixus pours itself into that sea which lies between Temenius and Lerna. But as you turn from Erasinus, at about the distance of eight stadia on the left hand, there is a temple of the kings of the Dioscuri; and their statues, which are of wood, are of the same shape with those in the city. If after this you turn into the direct road, by passing over the river Erasinus, you will arrive at the river Chimarrus. Near this, there is an enclosure of stones; and in this place it is said that Pluto, having ravished Proserpine, descended with her to the subterranean kingdom. But Lerna, as I have before observed, is near the sea; and in this place the mysteries of Ceres are celebrated, which they call Lernæa. In Lerna, too, there is a sacred grove, which commences from the mountain called Pontinus. But the mountain Pontinus does not pour forth the water, which it receives from divinity, but absorbs it. A river, however, flows from this mountain which is called Pontinus: and on the summit of the mountain there is a temple of Minerva Saitis, the ruins of which only remain at present. The foundations, too, of the house of Hippodemon, who came to Thebes to the assistance of Polynices the son of Œdipus, yet remain.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

From this mountain the grove Pontinus, which is full of plane-trees, extends for the most part as far as to the sea.

But its boundaries are, on one side, the river Pontinus, and on the other, the river Amymon, which receives its name from the daughter of Danaus. But in the grove, there are statues of Ceres, Prosymne, and Bacchus; and a statue, of no great magnitude, of Ceres in a sitting posture: and these are made of stone. But in another temple, there is a wooden statue of Bacchus the Saviour; and this, too, is in a sitting position. Besides this, there is a stone statue of Venus near the sea, which is said to have been dedicated by the daughters of Danaus: and Danaus himself is reported to have raised the temple of Minerva in Pontinus. But they report that Philammon instituted the Lernæan mysteries. That the ceremonies, indeed, of these mysteries are not ancient, is obvious to every one. But the particulars which I have heard, from an account inscribed on a heart of orichalcum, were not invented by Philammon, but by Arriphon of Triconium, a city in Ætolia. This Arriphon, who was a man of wonderful sagacity, discovered several things which were never before either seen or heard of; and among these, that the writings on the heart of orichalcum, which are partly in prose and partly in verse, were composed in the Doric dialect. But before the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, the Argives had the same dialect as the Athenians: and in the times of Philammon, it does not appear to me, that the name of the Dorians was known to all the Greeks. And thus far Arriphon evinced the truth of these particulars.

But a plane-tree rises near the fountain of Amymon; and under this plane-tree the hydra was nourished, according to report. I can easily indeed believe that this savage animal surpassed in magnitude other hydras, and that his venom was of such an incurable nature that Hercules poisoned the tops of his arrows with his noxious bile. But it appears to me that he had but one, and not many heads.

Pisander, however, the Camirensian, that this beast might appear more terrible, and his verses become more dignified, describes the hydra as endowed with many heads instead of one. I have seen a fountain, too, which bears the name of Amphiaraus; and the Alcyonian lake, through which, according to the Argives, Bacchus descended to Hades, in order to lead back Semele: and they add, that this way was shown him by Polymnus. The depth of this lake is immense; nor do I know any man who has been able by any artifice whatever to reach its bottom: for even Nero, who joined ropes together of many stadia in length, and fastened lead at the end, with whatever else might be useful for this purpose, could never find the bottom of this depth. I have heard, too, that the water of this lake appears to the eye to be tranquil and quiet, but that it draws to the bottom those that have the boldness to swim in it. But the circumference of this lake is not more than one-third of a stadium, and grass and bulrushes grow on its margin. It is, however, by no means lawful for me to divulge to all men the nocturnal ceremonies, which are performed every year by the side of this lake, to Bacchus.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

But, on proceeding from Lerna to Temenium, you will perceive the river Phrixus pouring itself into the sea. Temenium, however, belongs to the Argives, and is named from Temenus the son of Aristomachus: for after he was settled in this place, and had fortified it, he engaged in war along with the Dorienses, against Tisamenus, and the Achaians. In Temenium, too, there is a temple of Neptune, and another of Venus; and besides these, the sepulchre of Temenus, which is venerated by the Dorienses

that live in Argos. But Nauplia is distant from Temenium, as it appears to me, about fifty stadia. This town is at present desolate; but its builder was Nauplius, who is said to have been the son of Neptune and Amymone. The ruins of the walls yet remain, together with a temple of Neptune, certain ports, and a fountain called Canathus. The Argives report that Juno, by washing every year in this fountain, becomes a virgin: and this narration belongs to the arcane discourses, which are delivered in the mysteries of Juno. But the story which is circulated in Nauplia about an ass, who, by eating the branches of a vine-tree, rendered the vine much more prolific, and who on this account, as teaching them the propriety of amputating vines, is carved in stone——this story I shall pass by, as not worthy of discussion.

There is also another road which leads from Lerna to the sea, in that place which they call Genesium. And near the sea there is a temple, of no great magnitude, of Genesian Neptune. After this, another place follows, which is called Apobathmi, or a *landing-place.* They report, that this was the first part of Argolis in which Danaus landed with his children. From hence, after you have passed by Anigræa, which is a narrow road, and almost impervious, you will perceive a piece of ground which extends itself on the left hand towards the sea, and which is very well adapted for the culture of trees in general, and particularly olive-trees. But on ascending towards the continent, you will arrive at a place called Thyrea, in which three hundred chosen Argives fought with the like number of selected Lacedæmonians for its possession: and all of them dying, except one Spartan and two Argives, they were buried here, in the place where they fell. But the Lacedæmonians in a battle, in which all the people were drawn up, having vanquished the Argives, obtained the possession of Thyrea, and afterwards gave it to the

Æginetæ, when they were driven from their island by the Athenians. At present, however, the Argives inhabit this place, which, as they report, they obtained by a just victory. But on departing from the places destined to sepulchres, you will arrive at Athene, which was formerly inhabited by the Æginetæ. Near this, there is another town called Neris, and a third Eua, which is the greatest of all the towns, and which contains a temple of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates was the son of Machaon, and the brother of Alexanor; and who, in consequence of having cured the inhabitants of their diseases, came to be honoured by them in this manner. The mountain Parnon rises above these towns, in which the boundaries of the Lacedæmonians, from the Argives and Tegeatæ, are contained. They have raised for their boundaries stony Hermæ, from which the place is denominated: and after these there is a river called Tanus, which, being but one, descends from Parnon, flows through the Argive land, and pours itself into the bay of Thyrea.

BOOK III.

LACONICS.

CHAPTER I.

After the Hermæ, the Laconic region presents itself to the view, situated towards the west. In this country, according to the Lacedæmonians, Lelex, who was a native of the place, first reigned, and the people whom he governed were called Leleges. But Myles was the son of Lelix, and a younger son Polycaon, with respect to whom, on what account and into what place he migrated, I shall explain in another place. But, on the death of Myles, his son Eurotas succeeded him in the kingdom. This Eurotas having brought the stagnant water in the fields to the sea, by a channel, the water which was left, and which flowed like a river, was called after him, Eurotas. However, as he had no male children, he left the kingdom to Lacedæmon, whose mother was Taygeta, from whom a mountain was denominated, and whose father, according to report, was Jupiter. But Lacedæmon married Sparta, the daughter of Eurotas: and as soon as he obtained the kingdom, in the first place he gave names to the region and the inhabitants; and in the next place, he built a city, and called it after the name of his wife, Sparta, which is its name even at present.

But his son Amyclas, being desirous of leaving behind him a monument of his name, built a little city in the Laconic land: and as he had several sons, the Fates took away his youngest son Hyacinthus, who was a most beauti-

ful youth, before his father. The tomb of this Hyacinthus is under the statue of Apollo. But, on the death of Amyclas, his eldest son Argalus reigned, and after him Cynortas. Œbalus was the son of this Cynortas, who married the Argive Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, and had by her Tyndareus, with whom Hippocoon contended for the kingdom, considering himself entitled to it on account of his seniority. Hippocoon, therefore, having for this purpose entered into an association with Icarius and his faction, far surpassed Tyndareus in power, and compelled him through fear to fly, as the Lacedæmonians report, to Pellana. The Messenians, however, assert, that Tyndareus fled to Aphareus in Messenia, and that Aphareus was the son of Perieres, and the brother of Tyndareus on the mother's side. They add, that he dwelt in Thalamis, which is a town of Messenia; that he had children while he resided here; and that, some time afterwards, he was restored to his kingdom by Hercules.

The sons, too, of Tyndareus reigned, and Menelaus the son of Atreus, and the son-in-law of Tyndareus; and besides these, Orestes, who married Hermione the daughter of Menelaus. But the Heraclidæ returning during the reign of Tisamenus the son of Orestes, one part of the Messenians and Argives were for giving the kingdom to Temenus, and another part to Cresphontes. And as in Lacedæmonia Aristodemus had left behind him twins, two royal families were by this means produced, and this by the approbation of the Pythian deity. But they say, that Aristodemus died at Delphos, before the Dorienses returned to Peloponnesus; and speaking magnificently of their own affairs, they add, that Aristodemus was pierced with arrows by Apollo, because he did not inquire of the oracle, but consulted Hercules, whom he first happened to meet, by what means the Dorienses might return to Peloponnesus.

The more true relation, however, is this:—That Aristodemus was slain by the sons of Pylades and Electra, which sons were the cousins of Tisamenus the son of Orestes. But the names of the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurysthenes, who, though twins, were very different in their dispositions. However, though their enmity to each other was very great, yet this did not hinder them from jointly following Theras, the brother of their mother Argia, the son of Ion, and their tutor, in establishing a colony. But Theras settled a colony in an island which was then called Caliste, hoping that the descendants of Membliarus would abandon the government of their own accord. The event, indeed, happened as he wished, owing to their considering that the race of Theras might be referred to Cadmus as its origin, and that they were the offspring of Membliarus, who was one of the common people, and who was left in the island by Cadmus as a leader of the colonies. Theras, therefore, changing the name of the colony, called it after his own name; and the Theræi, even at present, perform yearly funeral sacrifices to Theras, as the founder of a colony. Procles, indeed, and Eurysthenes, were cheerfully obedient to the commands of Theras, but the rest dissented from him in all his designs. But if they had even agreed among themselves, I should not be able, in the same history, to relate at once the actions of their posterity; for they neither all lived at the same time, so that cousin might correspond to cousin, and the children of the cousins, or so that the latter progeny might be circumscribed by the same number. I shall, therefore, treat separately of each family, and not mix the transactions of both in one account.

CHAPTER II.

They say, then, that Agis was the offspring of Eurysthenes, who was the eldest son of Aristodemus; and from Agis, the posterity of Eurysthenes were called Agidæ. But, during the reign of Agis, the Lacedæmonians assisted Patreus in building a city in Achaia, and in establishing a colony, which at present, from this Patreus, they call Patræ. They sent, too, companions and associates with Grais the son of Echelatus, and the grandson of Penthilus the son of Orestes, who was passing with a fleet into the colony. And he, indeed, possessed that region which is situated between Ionia and Mysi, and which is at present called Æolis; his grandfather Penthilus, prior to this, having taken Lesbos, an island above this continent of Æolis. But, during the reign of Echestratus the son of Agis in Sparta, the Lacedæmonians expelled all the Cynurenses that were in the vigour of their age from their dominions; assigning this as a reason for their conduct, that the Cynurensian robbers injured Argolis, at the same time that the Argives were their allies, and that the Cynurenses themselves made open excursions into the Argolic land.

The Cynurenses, indeed, are said to have originated from the Argives, and to have been colonized by Cynurus the son of Perseus. But not many years after, Labotas the son of Echestratus reigned in Sparta: and Herodotus, in his History of Crœsus, informs us, that this Labotas was under the guardianship of Lycurgus, who gave laws to the Lacedæmonians; but he calls him Leobotas, and not Labotas. During his reign the Lacedæmonians, for the first time, appear to have warred on the Argives: and this war was occasioned by the Argives invading the Cy-

nurensian land, which the Lacedæmonians had taken by force of arms, and soliciting their neighbours to revolt. They say, however, that nothing worthy of being remembered took place in this war: and such of the family of Labotas as succeeded to the government, viz. Doryssus, and Agesilaus the son of Doryssus, both died in a short time after their reign. But Lycurgus gave laws to the Lacedæmonians in the reign of Agesilaus: and these laws, according to some, he received from the Pythian oracle, and, according to others, derived them from Crete. The Cretans, too, report, that these laws were established by Minos, and that he was assisted in composing them by Jupiter himself. And indeed it appears to me, that Homer obscurely signifies this in the following verses respecting the legislation of Minos:

> "Cnossus, her capital of high command;
> Where sceptred Minos, with impartial hand,
> Divided right; each ninth revolving year,
> By Jove received in council to confer."

But we shall make further mention of Lycurgus in the following part of this description.

Again, Archelaus was the son of Agesilaus: and while he reigned, the Lacedæmonians having conquered one of their neighbouring cities, called Ægys, led away the inhabitants into captivity, in consequence of suspecting that the Ægytæ would revolt to the Arcadians. In this siege Charilaus, a king out of the other family, assisted Archelaus: but we shall mention the particular transactions of Charilaus when we relate the affairs of those that are called the Eurypontidæ. But Teleclus was the son of Archelaus: and, in his time, the Lacedæmonians, having conquered the neighbouring towns, subverted Amyclas, Pharis, and Geranthre, which were then possessed by the Achaians. The Pharitæ, however, and Geranthratæ, being terrified at the approach of the Dorienses, departed from Peloponn-

nesus, on certain conditions; but the Amyclenses were not vanquished by the first attack, but, in consequence of their vigorous resistance, were only at length conquered after many engagements, and after they had given many proofs of courage by no means inconsiderable or mean. This, indeed, the Dorienses themselves testified by the trophy which they raised on the occasion, and by which they signified that their greatest glory consisted in this conquest.

But, not long after this engagement, Teleclus was slain by the Messenians, in the temple of Diana, which was situated in the town called Limnæ, and which lies between the borders of the Laconic and Messenian lands. After the death of Teleclus, his son Alcamenes obtained the kingdom: and during his reign, the Lacedæmonians sent into Crete, Charmidas the son of Euthys, a man who was one of the most approved in Sparta; who appeased the seditions which rose among the Cretans, and persuaded them to leave the towns which were farther distant from the sea, and in other respects in a weak condition, and to inhabit such as might afford a convenient harbour for ships. At the same time, too, the Lacedæmonians took and depopulated a maritime town belonging to the Achaians, and which was called Helos; and conquered the Argives, who brought assistance to the Helotes.

CHAPTER III.

On the death of Alcamenes, his son Polydorus succeeded to the government; and at that time the Lacedæmonians brought one colony into Crotona in Italy, and another into Locris, near the promontory Zephyrium. The war, too, which is called Messeniac, arrived during

this period at its greatest height. The Lacedæmonians, however, do not agree with the Messenians in assigning the causes of this war: but, in the following part of this history, we shall relate what is asserted by either party, and how the war was concluded. In the mean time, thus much must not be omitted, that Theopompus the son of Nicander, and a king of the other family, led the Lacedæmonians in many engagements in the former war against the Messenians. But the war being finished, and the Messenians becoming subject to the Lacedæmonians, Polydorus, a man of great renown in Sparta, and particularly dear to the Lacedæmonian vulgar, because he had never acted with violence in any transaction, and had always been just and humane in his decisions, was slain by Polemarchus, a man not without reputation in Lacedæmon, and of great audacity, as this action evinces.

But the Lacedæmonians paid such honours to Polydorus, after his death, as well deserve to be mentioned; though, notwithstanding this, there is a sepulchre of Polemarchus in Sparta, whether prior to this he was considered by them as a worthy man, or that he was secretly buried by his relations. But during the reign of Eurycrates the son of Polydorus, the Messenians paid a willing obedience to the government of the Lacedæmonians, and the Argive vulgar did not apply themselves to the study of novel affairs. But when Anaxander the son of Eurycrates obtained the government, as it was now destined by the Fates, that the Messenians should be expelled beyond Peloponnesus, they revolted from the Lacedæmonians, and for some time were their equals in war; but being at length vanquished, they made a league, and abandoned Peloponnesus; and those that still remained were made slaves by the Lacedæmonians, except such as inhabited the maritime towns.

But with respect to the transactions of this war, that

which happened after the revolt of the Messenians is not sufficiently connected with the present history to be related. But Eurycrates was the son of Anaxander, and Leon of Eurycrates: and during the reign of these two, the Lacedæmonians suffered many losses in battle from the Tegeatæ; but under the government of Anaxandrides the son of Leon, they conquered the Tegeatæ, and that in the following manner: A Lacedæmonian of the name of Lichas came to Tegea; for at that time a league subsisted between the cities. But Lichas, on his arrival, discovered the bones of Orestes, which the Spartans had been ordered to seek by a certain oracle; and this, by understanding the oracle as signifying that they were concealed in the workshop of a coppersmith, and by referring whatever he saw in the shop to the words of the oracle. Thus, for instance, he interpreted the *winds* as signifying the *bellows*, because they emit a violent spirit; the *blow* he referred to the *hammer; that which resists the blow* to the *anvil;* and *that which is the destruction of man* he very properly referred to *iron*, which at that time began to be used in battle. For if the god had spoken with a view to the heroic age, as it is called, he would have signified that which is destructive to man by brass.

But an oracle which was afterwards given to the Athenians was similar to this, which the Lacedæmonians received, respecting the bones of Orestes: for the oracle ordered them to carry the bones of Theseus from Scyros to Athens; adding, that unless this was accomplished, they would not be able to take Scyros. But Cimon the son of Miltiades found the bones of Theseus, through the same acuteness of conjecture, and not long after took the island. But that in the times of the heroes all the arms were similarly brass is evident from Homer, when he describes the ax of Pisander, and the dart of Merion. My opinion, too, is strengthened from this circumstance, that the spear

of Achilles, which is placed in the temple of Minerva in Phaseus, has its bottom and top part of brass; and the sword of Memnon, among the Nicomedenses, in the temple of Æsculapius, is wholly of brass; and this I know to be true. But Anaxandrides the son of Leon, alone of all the Lacedæmonians, had two wives at the same time, and in consequence of this a twofold progeny. For when the Ephori ordered him to put away his first wife, who was in other respects the best of women, but barren, he would not by any means literally comply with their orders, but was so far obedient that he married another woman besides her, by whom he had a son, Cleomenes. But then his first wife conceived, and bore him, first Dorieus, afterwards Leonidas, and then Cleombrotus. And on the death of Anaxandrides, the Lacedæmonians considering Dorieus as superior to Cleomenes both in the arts of council and war, reluctantly gave the kingdom to Cleomenes as the elder, agreeable to the laws of their country. But Dorieus, who could not be persuaded to stay in Lacedæmon, and be subservient to Cleomenes, was sent into a colony.

CHAPTER IV.

But Cleomenes, as soon as he began his reign, collecting an army of Lacedæmonians and his allies, made an incursion into Argolis; and as soon as the Argives met him in arms, he vanquished them in fight. But the Argives fled to the sacred grove of Niobe, which was near the field of battle, to the number of five thousand; and Cleomenes, who was often seized with fits of insanity, by means of the Helotes, or Spartan servants, fired the grove; in consequence of which both the grove itself, and the suppliants that fled thither for refuge, were destroyed by the fire

After this, he led his army to Athens, and there, in the first place, having freed the Athenians from the tyranny of the children of Pisistratus, he both procured for himself and the Lacedæmonians an illustrious reputation among all the Greeks. But afterwards, through his partiality to an Athenian whose name was Isagoras, he endeavoured to place this man over the Athenians; and the Athenians fighting with great valour for their liberty, Cleomenes was frustrated in his intentions, and in consequence of this depopulated other parts of the country, and a place called Orgas, sacred to the gods which are worshipped at Eleusis.

After this, he passed into Ægina, and imprisoned the principal persons of the Æginetæ, who, from their attachment to the Medes, had persuaded their fellow-citizens to surrender their land and water to Darius the son of Hydaspes. But while Cleomenes stayed at Ægina, Demaratus, a king from the other family, accused him to the Lacedæmonian vulgar; and Cleomenes, as soon as he returned from Ægina, in consequence of this did every thing in his power to dethrone Demaratus. For he so corrupted the Delphic priest by his gifts, that he persuaded him to answer the Lacedæmonians, when they consulted the oracle, just what he prescribed; and besides this, he instigated Leotychides, a man of the royal family, and allied to Demaratus, to contend with Demaratus for the kingdom. In consequence of this, Leotychides laid hold on those words which Ariston once rashly uttered respecting Demaratus as soon as he was born, and persuaded the judges that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. This dispute being related by the Lacedæmonians to the Delphic oracle, a custom which they adopted in every affair, the Pythian priest answered them agreeable to the wishes of Cleomenes: and by this means Demaratus was deprived of his kingdom, through the hatred of Cleomenes, and not by the decisions of justice.

But Cleomenes, after these transactions, died insane; for, seizing on a sword, he mangled his body all over with the most painful wounds, and thus slew himself. And the Argives, indeed, say, that, by the bitterness of his death, he suffered the punishment of his inhumanity towards the suppliants at Argos; the Athenians, that his death was the consequence of his violating Orgas; and the Delphi, that it arose from his corrupting the priest of Apollo, to speak falsely respecting Demaratus. But other examples, besides this of Cleomenes, may be found, of the anger of gods and heroes towards men: for Protesilaus, who is honoured by the Eleans, and than whom there is no hero in Argos more illustrious, revenged on himself Perses Artabaetes; and the Megarenses were never able to appease the anger of the divinities in Eleusis, after they had dared to inhabit the sacred land. I do not, however, know of any one, except Cleomenes, who has dared to corrupt the oracle of the god. But as Cleomenes had no male children, the government devolved on Leonidas the son of Anaxandrides, and the brother on both sides of Dorieus. And Xerxes at that time leading his numerous army into Greece, Leonidas met him with a band of three hundred Lacedæmonians at the pass of Thermopylæ. Many battles, indeed, have taken place among the Greeks, and many among the Barbarians; but those are but few in number, in which the virtue of one man shone forth in an eminent degree, as of Achilles in the Trojan war, and of Miltiades at Marathon.

In my opinion, however, the illustrious action of Leonidas surpasses those of any other period. For Xerxes, who of all the kings that afterwards reigned over the Medes and Persians was the most prudent and renowned, was so vigorously encountered, on his entry into Greece, by Leonidas, with a few troops which he commanded at the Thermopylæ, that Xerxes would neither have conquered Greece, nor even Athens, if a certain Trachinian had not

led the forces of Hydarnes, by a circular march, through the passages of the mountain Œta. And thus, by the destruction of Leonidas and his forces, the Barbarians came into Greece. But Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus was never king of the Lacedæmonians, but being the tutor of Plistarchus the son of Leonidas, he led the Lacedæmonians to Platææ, and afterwards passed over with a fleet to the Hellespont. The conduct, however, of this Pausanias, towards a woman whose name was Coa, appears to me to deserve the greatest praise. This woman, who was the daughter of a man not without reputation among the Coans, viz. of Hegetorides the son of Antagoras, was unwillingly led away as a concubine by Pharandates the Persian, the son of Teapis. But as Mardonius fell in battle at Platææ, and the Barbarians were destroyed, Pausanias sent back this woman to Coos, with all her female ornaments, and the gifts which she had received from Pharandates. And besides this, he would not suffer the dead body of Mardonius to be injured, contrary to the advice of Lampon Æginetas.

CHAPTER V.

Plistarchus, therefore, the son of Leonidas, died in the beginning of his reign. But he was succeeded by Plestoanax, the son of that Pausanias who led the forces to Platææ. Another Pausanias, who was the son of this Plestoanax, led an army into Attica under the pretext of waging war with Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but in reality that he might establish the dominion of the thirty tyrants who had been set over the Athenians by Lysander. And in an engagement, indeed, Pausanias vanquished those Athenians that guarded the Piræeus; but after the

battle he determined to lead back his army, as he was of opinion that to have established the tyranny of unholy men would not be the most disgraceful part of the conduct of the Spartan republic. However, on his return from Athens, as he had engaged in an unfinished war, he was called to account by his enemies. But the king among the Lacedæmonians is judged as follows: Those that are called seniors sit in judgment to the number of twenty-eight, and together with these the head of the Ephori, and the king of the other family. On this occasion, therefore, fourteen of the elders, and Agis, who was at that time the king of the other family, condemned Pausanias, but the other part of the council acquitted him.

But, not long after this, the Lacedæmonians collected an army against the Thebans, the cause of which war we shall relate in our account of the transactions of Agesilaus. And then, indeed, Lysander coming into Phocis, and collecting all the Phocensians together, without any delay invaded Bœotia, and first of all attacked the walls of Heliartus, as the inhabitants of this place were unwilling to abandon the Thebans. Certain Thebans, however, and Athenians, being privately received into the city, made an irruption; and Lysander engaging with them before the walls, fell among other of the Lacedæmonians. In the meantime, Pausanias having collected forces together from the Tegeatæ, and other parts of Arcadia, arrived after the battle was finished: and as soon as he came to Bœotia, was made acquainted with the slaughter of those that followed Lysander, and of the death of Lysander himself; yet for all this he led his army to Thebes, and prepared to besiege the city. But when the Thebans prepared themselves to sustain the attack, and the arrival of Thrasybulus with the Athenian auxiliaries was announced, who only waited till the Lacedæmonians engaged, that he might attack them behind:—then Pausanias, fearing lest he should

be surrounded by the two armies of the enemy, made a league with the Thebans, and took care to bury the dead bodies of those that fell under the walls of Haliartus.

This transaction, indeed, was not agreeable to the judgment of the Lacedæmonians; but for my own part, I think that the advice of Pausanias was right. For he well knew, that the Lacedæmonians had always been cut off when surrounded by the enemy, as at the Thermopylæ, and the island Sphacteria; and, on this account, he was afraid lest he should be the occasion of a third misfortune to them of this kind. However, as his countrymen were of a different opinion, accusing him of slowness in his approach to Bœotia, he did not wait to be called to an account, but betook himself to the Tegeatæ, who received him as a suppliant in the temple of Alea Minerva. This temple was sacred to all the Peloponnesians from ancient institutions, and afforded the greatest safety to those that fled to it in a suppliant habit. And the Lacedæmonians evince that this conduct was adopted by Pausanias, and, prior to this, by Leotychides; and the Argives testify the same respecting Chrysidas; for all these suppliantly betook themselves to this temple, and were by this means preserved from the danger which threatened them.

But after the flight of Pausanias, his children, Agesipolis and Cleombrotus, who were then very young, were placed under the guardianship of Aristodemus, who was his nearest relation; and the Lacedæmonians, under the command of this Aristodemus, fought with success at Corinth. But Agesipolis, as soon as he was of age sufficient to assume the reins of government, warred on the Argives before all the other Peloponnesians: and as he led his army from Tegeatæ to Argolis, the Argives sent a messenger to him, that he might ratify those leagues of their country, which had been established from the first among the Dorienses. Agesipolis, however, would neither

ratify the compact with the messenger, but, marching on with his army, depopulated the land; nor, when divinity caused an earthquake to take place, would he lead his army back, though the Lacedæmonians, and, in like manner, the Athenians, were terrified at these prodigies of Jupiter. Agesipolis, therefore, fixed his camp under the walls of the Argives, though the god did not cease to shake the earth, and though some of the soldiers were destroyed by lightning, and some were rendered foolish by the thunder. At length, therefore, he unwillingly moved his camp from Argolis, and turned his arms against the Olynthians; and being victorious in this engagement, he both took many Chalcidensian cities, and hoped he should be able to take Olynthus itself, but was deceived in his expectations by a sudden disease and death.

CHAPTER VI.

But as Agesipolis died without children, the kingdom fell to the lot of Cleombrotus: and the Lacedæmonians, under him as their leader, fought with the Bœotians at Leuctra. And in this battle, at the very beginning of the engagement, Cleombrotus himself fell, fighting valiantly. Indeed, wherever a great slaughter takes place in a battle, the dæmon usually cuts off the leader of the army before the rest. Thus, among the Athenians, he cut off Hippocrates the son of Ariphron at Delium, and afterwards Leosthenes in Thessaly. But Agesipolis, the eldest of the children of Cleombrotus, accomplished nothing worthy of relation: but Cleomenes, the younger son, after the death of his brother, took possession of the kingdom, and as he had two sons, Acrotatus and Cleonymus, it so happened that Acrotatus survived his father; and on the death of

Cleomenes, a contest took place between Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, and Areus the son of Acrotatus, respecting the possession of the kingdom. The elders, therefore, adjudged the government to Areus, and not to Cleonymus, in consequence of which Cleonymus began to plan some great achievement; and though the Ephori endeavoured to appease him, as well by other honorary rewards, as by giving him the command of the forces, yet they could not prevent his becoming an enemy to his country. His hatred, indeed, to his country was abundantly evinced in many particulars, and, among the rest, by his bringing Pyrrhus the son of Æacides into Lacedæmonia.

But, during the reign of Areus the son of Acrotatus in Sparta, Antigonus the son of Demetrius warred on the Athenians both with land and marine forces. Patroclus, however, came to the assistance of the Athenians with an Egyptian fleet; and the Lacedæmonians likewise were ready to give their aid with a band of voluntaries under the command of their king Areus. But as Antigonus had so invested the city with his forces that the assistance of their allies was rendered superfluous, Patroclus, by his messengers, desired Areus and the Lacedæmonians to come to an engagement with Antigonus, and told them that he in the meantime would attack the Macedonians behind, assigning this as a reason for his conduct, that their foot forces were by no means equal to those of the Macedonians, because they were Egyptians and sailors. In consequence of this message, the Lacedæmonians, both from their good-will to the Athenians, and that they might perform an action which would render them illustrious to posterity, acted in every respect agreeable to the wish of Pausanias. But Areus, as their provisions were nearly consumed, led his army back, as he considered that it was highly proper to reserve the remaining part of his aid to the use of his country, and not rashly lose his forces in

giving assistance to others. When the Athenians, however, had made a vigorous resistance for a long time, Antigonus made a peace with them, and placed a guard over them in the Museum, which not long after he voluntarily withdrew.

But Acrotatus was the son of this Areus, and another son Areus, who died through disease in the eighth year of his age. And as almost all the male posterity of Eurysthenes were abolished, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus succeeded to the kingdom, when he was very much advanced in years. Lysander, too, the son of Lysander, and the grandson of Aristocrates, was at great enmity with Leonidas. This Lysander associated to himself Cleombrotus, who married the daughter of Leonidas; and having drawn him over to his interest, persuaded him to accuse Leonidas of various crimes, and, among the rest, of this, that while he was yet a boy, he had sworn to his father Cleonymus, respecting the destruction of Sparta. Leonidas, therefore, being compelled to abdicate the kingdom, Cleombrotus obtained it after him. If, indeed, Leonidas had been impotent of mind through anger, and, as Demaratus the son of Ariston did formerly, had fled either to the king of the Macedonians or the king of the Egyptians, he would not have been benefited by the after repentance of the Spartans; but, in consequence of the conduct which he adopted, he was recalled not many years after by the Lacedæmonians, and again assumed the reins of government. But with respect to the daring attempts and courage of Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, and how through him the royal government of Sparta came to an end, these particulars we shall relate in our account of the transactions of the Sicyonian Aratus—at the same time mentioning after what manner Cleomenes died in Egypt. Cleomenes, therefore, the son of Leonidas, was the last of those kings

belonging to the family of Eurysthenes who were called Agidæ. . .

CHAPTER VII.

But the particulars which I have heard respecting the other family are as follow:—Procles the son of Aristodemus had a son whose name was Soos; and Eurypon was the son of Soos, who arrived at so great a degree of renown that all that family, which was before called Proclidæ, was from him denominated Eurypontidæ. But Prytanis was the son of Eurypon: and during his reign, an enmity took place between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives; and prior to this accusation, a war subsisted with the Cynurenses. In the ages, too, following this, viz. during the reign of Eunomus the son of Prytanis, and Polydectes the son of Eunomus, the Spartans enjoyed an uninterrupted peace. But Charillus the son of Polydectes destroyed the land of the Argives by fire and sword: and not many years after, the Spartans, led by this Charillus, and deceived by a fraudulent oracle, marched against the Tegeatæ, whom they were in hopes of conquering, and at the same time expecting to take from the Arcadians the Tegean plains. But after the death of Charillus, his son Nicander succeeded to the government; and while he reigned, Teleclus, a king from the other family, was slain by the Messenians in the temple of Diana Limnas.

This Nicander, too, led an army against Argolis, and did much injury to the country. The Asinæi joined with the Lacedæmonians in this war, for which not long after they grievously suffered from the Argives, experiencing the destruction of their country, and becoming exiles themselves. But I shall again make mention of Theopompus.

the son of Nicander, who reigned after his father, when I describe the Messenian affairs. While, however, Theopompus reigned in Sparta, a war took place between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians, about the region called Thyreatis. But Theopompus was not present at this battle, on account of his age, and the affliction of his mind. For his son Archidamus died before him; yet he left a son behind him, whose name was Zeuxidamus; and Anaxidamus was the son of Zeuxidamus, and succeeded to the government of Sparta. During the reign of this Anaxidamus, the Messenians fled from the Peloponnesus, being a second time vanquished by the Spartans. And Archidamus was the son of Anaxidamus, and Agasicles of Archidamus, during whose reigns the Spartans lived in perfect quiet, and without having any concern in war.

But Aristo, the son of Agasicles, married a woman who is said to have been the most base of all the Spartan virgins as to her manners, but the most beautiful as to her form, of all the women posterior to Helen. This woman, when she had been married to Aristo but seven months, was delivered of a son, whose name was Demaratus; and this event was announced to Aristo, as he was sitting among the Ephori. Aristo, however, either forgetting those verses of Homer in the Iliad, or not sufficiently understanding them, said, that the boy could not be his, because he was born at the end of seven months; for which speech afterwards he bitterly repented. For Demaratus, who was a man of great reputation in Sparta, and who, in conjunction with Cleomenes, freed the Athenians from the tyranny of the children of Pisistratus, was deprived of his kingdom, through this inconsiderate speech of Aristo, and his hatred of Cleomenes. But when, in consequence of being exiled, he came to Darius among the Persians, they report that his posterity remained in Asia for a long time.

Leotychides, however, was chosen king in the place of

Demaratus, and assisted Xanthippus the general of the Athenians, and the son of Ariphron, at Mycale: and after this, marching into Thessaly against the Aleuadæ, he easily conquered all Thessaly, because victory perpetually attended him in all his engagements. However, as he received gifts from the Aleuadæ, he was called to account in Lacedæmonia, and fled for protection to the altar of Minerva Alea. But Zeuxidamus the son of Leotychides died through disease, while his father was yet alive and safe. And Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, obtained the government after Leotychides fled to Tegea. This Archidamus very much injured the country of the Athenians, by marching an army into Attica every year, and depopulating and destroying every place he came to. The same person, too, took the city of the Platæenses, who were the friends and allies of the Athenians. He would not, however, by any means excite the Peloponnesians and Athenians to war on each other, but endeavoured, to the utmost of his ability, to establish between them a lasting peace. But Sthenelaidas, a man not destitute of power in Lacedæmonia, and one of the Ephori, was particularly the cause of a war taking place, which shook Greece, at that time sufficiently well established, from its very foundation: and not long after, Philip the son of Amyntas, attacking it while in a ruinous and diseased condition, was the cause of its entire overthrow.

CHAPTER VIII.

However, as soon as Archidamus died, as he left two sons behind him, Agis and Agesilaus, the former, in consequence of his seniority, assumed the reins of government. Archidamus, too, had a daughter, whose name was Cy-

nisca; who was a great lover of the Olympic contests, and was the first woman that employed herself in breeding horses, and that bore away the Olympic palm. But after her, other women, and especially some of Macedonia, obtained the Olympic prize; though indeed Cynisca surpassed them all. The Spartans, however, appear to me to admire the least of all men poetry, and the praise which it bestows: for, except an epigram on Cynisca, composed by I know not whom, and an epigram of Simonides upon the tripos of Pausanias, dedicated at Delphos, nothing else is mentioned by any poet concerning the Laconic kings. But during the reign of Agis the son of Archidamus, the Lacedæmonians accused the Eleans of various crimes, and of this especially, that they had forbid them to celebrate the Olympic games, and to sacrifice in the temple of Jupiter.

In consequence of this, they sent a messenger to the Eleans, commanding them to suffer the Lepreatæ, and other neighbouring cities, to use their own laws. To this message the Eleans answered, that as soon as they saw the cities bordering on Sparta free, they also would give liberty to their allies. But the Lacedæmonians, roused by this reply, immediately, with their king Agis, invaded Elea; and then divinity shaking the earth, they were obliged to lead their army back, when they had marched as far as to Olympia, and the river Alpheus. In the year following, however, Agis depopulated the country of the Eleans, and took from thence a great prey. But then Xenias the Elean, who was privately the friend of Agis, and publicly of the Lacedæmonians, and who was likewise hated by the people, endeavoured, by the assistance of the rich, to deliver up the city to the enemy. However, before Agis arrived with his army, Thrasydrus, who then presided over the common people of the Eleans, having vanquished in battle Xenias and his forces, drove them out of

the city. But Agis after this led back his army, and left Lysistratus the Spartan, with a part of his forces, and the Elean exiles, that, together with the Lepreatæ they might injure, by frequent excursions, the land of the Eleans.

At length, in the third year of this war, when the Lacedæmonians and Agis again prepared to invade Elea, Thrasydrus and the Eleans, who were injured by the war in the most eminent degree, made a peace, on the following conditions: That they, the Eleans, should no longer rule over the neighbouring cities: that the walls of their city should be demolished; and that the Lacedæmonians should both sacrifice to Jupiter in Olympia, and contend, if they pleased, in the Olympic games. After this, Agis made continual incursions into Attica, and fortified a tower in Decelea against the Athenians. But the Athenian fleet being destroyed at Ægospotamos, Lysander the son of Aristocratus and Agis violated the sacred league, which had been established between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, though the Spartans had not given them orders for this purpose; for they only had made a decree with their allies, respecting the entire destruction of the Athenians. And these were the most illustrious warlike achievements of Agis. But the rashness of Agis, respecting his son Leotychides, was correspondent to that of Ariston respecting Demaratus; for, in the hearing of the Ephori, he was tempted by some evil dæmon to say, that he did not think Leotychides was his son. Of this rashness, however, he afterwards repented: for when, in consequence of a disease with which he was afflicted, he was carried from Arcadia to his own habitation, he testified to all those that were present with him in Heræa, that he had no doubt but Leotychides was his son, and entreated the spectators with tears to testify this to the Lacedæmonians.

But after the death of Agis, Agesilaus expelled Leoty-

chydes from the kingdom, in consequence of reminding the Lacedæmonians of what Agis had said respecting Leotychides. The Arcadians, however, from Heræa came to Lacedæmon on this occasion, and testified in behalf of Leotychides what Agis, when dying, had declared concerning him. The Delphic oracle, too, served to increase the dispute between Agesilaus and Leotychides. But the oracle was to this effect: "Sparta beware, though at present thou dost greatly glory in thy condition, lest a lame king with sound legs injure thee: for unless thou art cautious, unexpected and long-continued labours await thee, and the destructive waves of the mingled flood of war." Leotychides, therefore, asserted, that the oracle referred to Agesilaus, because he was lame in one of his feet. But Agesilaus retorted upon Leotychides, that he was not the legitimate offspring of Agis. The Lacedæmonians, however, did not refer this dispute to the oracle, though it was in their power to have done so; and this, as it appears to me, because they followed the advice of Lysander the son of Aristocritus, who endeavoured by all possible means to procure the kingdom for Agesilaus.

CHAPTER IX.

As soon, therefore, as Agesilaus had obtained the kingdom, the Lacedæmonians sent a fleet into Asia, for the purpose of warring on Artaxerxes the son of Darius: for they knew, from the other chiefs of the city, and particularly from Lysander, that in the war against the Athenians they had not obtained money for their fleet from Artaxerxes, but from Cyrus. Agesilaus therefore (for he was ordered to pass with an army into Asia, and was declared general of the foot) sent ambassadors into Peloponnesus,

for the purpose of exciting all the people, except the Argives, and all the Greeks beyond the Isthmus to unite with them in the war. The Corinthians, therefore, though they very much desired to partake of this expedition, yet as the temple of Jupiter, who was called by them Olympius, was washed away by a sudden inundation of the sea, they considered it as an ill omen, and unwillingly remained at home. But the pretext of the Athenians for withholding their assistance was the other calamities of the Peloponnesian war, and particularly the pestilence from disease, through which they were cut off from the hopes of their pristine felicity. The true reason, however, of their remaining quiet, was, because they had understood by a messenger, that Conon the son of Timotheus had paid a visit to the king.

Aristomenides, too, was sent to the Thebans, because he was the grandfather on the mother's side of Agesilaus, and favourable to the Thebans: for he had been one of those judges, who, when the city of the Platæenses was taken, were of opinion that all those that were taken within it should be slain. The Thebans, however, no less than the Athenians, said, that they were unable to give any assistance. But Agesilaus collected together at home a chosen band of his allies, and at the same time having built and properly fitted out a fleet, came to Aulis in order to sacrifice to Diana; because Agamemnon, after he had propitiated the goddess in this place, led his forces against Troy. Agesilaus, therefore, thought that he was the king of a much happier city than Agamemnon, and that, in a manner similar to him, he reigned over all Greece. He likewise was of opinion, that if he could conquer Artaxerxes, and obtain the riches of the Persians, such an achievement would be much more illustrious than the subversion of the kingdom of Priam.

But as he was sacrificing, the Thebans arrived in arms,

threw down the entrails, while they were yet burning on the altar, and drove him out of the temple. Agesilaus, however, though he lamented that he had not finished his sacrifice, passed over into Asia, and first of all drove to Sardis: for at that time Lydia was the greatest part of Lower Asia, and Sardis its most illustrious city, which not only excelled the other cities in wealth and power, but was the residence of the satrap of the sea, in the same manner as Susa was of the king. But Agesilaus engaging here with Tisaphernes, the satrap of the places about Ionia, conquered, in the plains of Hermus, both the Persian horse and foot, which were so numerous that they were only surpassed by that army which Xerxes led against the Athenians, and Darius against the Scythians. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, admiring the alacrity of Agesilaus in warlike concerns, gave him also the command of the fleet. Agesilaus, however, gave the command of the three-oared galleys to Pisander the brother of his wife, as he applied himself solely to the accomplishment of great enterprises with land forces. Some god, however, envied him the accomplishment of his wish; for as soon as Artaxerxes heard that Agesilaus had gained some battles, and that he neglected advantages which, as it were, lay before his feet, and continually marched farther on with his army;——as soon as he heard this, he put Tisaphernes to death, whom before he had much esteemed, and sent Tithraustes in his stead as satrap of the sea, who was a man of great sagacity, and one that hated the Lacedæmonians.

Tithraustes, therefore, as soon as he arrived at Sardis, thought of a method by which he might cause the Lacedæmonians to recall their army from Asia. For he sent Timocratus the Rhodian into Greece with money, that, by bribing the principal persons, he might excite the Grecians to war on the Lacedæmonians. But those that were

corrupted by his money are said to have been, among the Argives, Cylon and Sodamas; and of the Thebans, Androclides, Ismenias, and Ampithemis. At Athens, too, Cephalus and Epicrates partook of his money: and among the Corinthians, such as agreed with the Argives; and particularly Polyanthes and Timolaus. But the Locrians from Amphissa began to carry on the war openly: for a controversy arose between them and the Phocenses, concerning the boundaries of their land; and by the advice of the Thebans, and particularly of those about Ismenia, they cut down the corn when it was in the height of its vigour, and carried it away, with the rest of the spoils. The Phocenses, too, with a band of soldiers collected in haste, made excursions into the country of the Locrians, which the Locrians, by joining with them the Thebans, revenged; and in their turn laid waste the Phocensian lands.—And in consequence of this, the Phocenses, by sending ambassadors to Lacedæmonia, sharply accused the Thebans. But the Spartans being moved by their expostulations, raised a war against the Thebans; and, among other crimes, accused them of insolent behaviour towards Agesilaus, while he was sacrificing in Aulis.

But the Athenians having learnt the intention of the Lacedæmonians, sent ambassadors into Sparta, requesting that the affair for which they were accused by their adversaries might be settled by law, and not by arms. The Lacedæmonians, however, sent back the ambassadors in a rage: and the expedition of the Lacedæmonians which afterwards took place, and the death of Lysander, we shall explain, when we relate the transactions of Pausanias. And indeed that which is called the Corinthian war, and which continually increased, commenced from the expedition of the Lacedæmonians into Bœotia. But this circumstance obliged Agesilaus to withdraw his army from Asia. When, therefore, he had passed over with his ships

from Abydos to Sestus, and through Thrace had arrived at Thessaly, the Thessalians, on account of their friendship for the Thebans, endeavoured to stop his passage: and in this conduct, too, they thought they were justified, on account of their ancient good-will towards the Athenians. Agesilaus, however, passed through Thessaly, by throwing down the Thessalian horse; and afterwards, having conquered the Thebans and their allies, made his way through the Bœotians. But as soon as the Bœotians were routed, they fled to the temple of Minerva Itonia: and Agesilaus, though he was wounded in the engagement, would not by any means act towards the suppliants in a manner contrary to law.

CHAPTER X.

Not long after this the Isthmian games were established, by those that fled on account of their Laconic manners. But the Corinthians then kept themselves quiet within the city, through fear of Agesilaus. However, when Agesilaus moved his camp, in order to return to Sparta, they celebrated the Isthmian games in conjunction with the Argives. But Agesilaus again returned with his army to Corinth; and, on account of the arrival of Hyacinthia, sent the Amyclæenses home that they might celebrate the games to Apollo and Hyacinthus, after the manner of their country. This band the Athenians, led by Iphicrates, attacked in their passage and slew. But Agesilaus came afterwards to Ætolia, for the purpose of assisting the Ætolians against the Acarnanes, by whom they were oppressed in battle. And, indeed, he compelled the Acarnanes to dissolve the war, at a time when they wanted but little of taking Calydon and other Ætolian towns. But some time after this

he sailed to Egypt, for the purpose of pursuing with his arms those that had revolted from the king; in which place he is said to have performed many illustrious actions: and as he was now advanced in years, he died in the course of this expedition. But the Lacedæmonians carried his dead body into his native country, and buried it with the highest honours.

But afterwards, Archidamus the son of Agesilaus reigning, the Phocenses plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphos; and the Phocenses, in carrying on the war against the Thebans, were assisted by mercenary troops. For the Lacedæmonians and Athenians sent them assistance by a public decree; the latter, indeed, in consequence of recollecting their ancient kindness towards them; but the Lacedæmonians, under a pretext of friendship, but in reality, as it appears to me, through hatred of the Thebans. But Theopompus, the son of Damasistratus, writes, that Archidamus engaged in this war; and that, in consequence of Denicha his wife being corrupted by gifts, he was rendered more disposed to give them assistance. However, for my own part, I never can praise any one who receives sacred money, or assists those by whom the most illustrious oracle on the earth was destroyed. This indeed deserves to be praised in Archidamus, that when the Phocenses intended to have cut off all the Delphian youth, to have led away to slavery the women and children, and to have entirely subverted the city, he prevented the execution of their design.

Afterwards, too, he passed over into Italy, and assisted the Tarentines in warring on their neighbouring Barbarians, in which war he lost his life: and his dead body remained unburied, through the anger of Apollo, whose indignation he had incurred. But Agis, the eldest son of this Archidamus, fell fighting against Antipater king of Macedonia; and a younger son, Eudamidas, reigned over

the Lacedæmonians, when they were at peace. The particulars, however, of Agis, the son of Eudamidas, and of Eudamidas the son of Agis, I have already related in my account of the Sicyonian affairs.

* * * * But on descending from Hermæ there is a place full of oaks, which is called *Scotitas*, or *the dark*. This name, however, does not originate from the nearness of the trees to each other, and the darkness produced by this means, but from Jupiter, who is surnamed *Scotitas*, and whose temple, on the left hand, is distant from the road about ten stadia. After you have proceeded in this road a little farther, you will likewise see, on the left hand, a statue and trophy of Hercules; which last is said to have been raised by him when he slew Hippocoon and his sons. But the third turning from the straight road leads, on the right hand, to Caryæ and the temple of Diana; for the region Caryæ is sacred to Diana and the Nymphs. And the statue of Diana Caryatis stands in the open air; in which place the Lacedæmonian virgins celebrate a festival every year, and dance after the manner of their country.

But on returning into the public road, you will perceive the ruins of Selasia. And this place, as we have before related, was enslaved by the Achaians, when they vanquished the Lacedæmonians and their king Cleomenes the son of Leonidas. But in Thornax (which in proceeding along this road you will arrive at) there is a statue of Pythian Apollo, which is made in the same manner as that in Amyclæ; and which, in an account of that place, I shall describe. Among the Lacedæmonians, however, there is an Apollo Amyclæus, which is much more illustrious, because all the gold which Crœsus, king of the Lydians, sent to this Pythian Apollo was employed by them for the purpose of adorning the statue of Apollo in Amyclæ.

CHAPTER XI.

After leaving Thornax, the city presents itself to your view, which was at first called Sparta, and in process of time Lacedæmon. But as I professed, in my Attics, that I should not describe every particular, but only such as appeared to me most worthy of relation, I now make the same declaration, previous to my description of the Spartan affairs; for it was my intention from the beginning, to select out of many things reported by the vulgar, such as appeared to me most worthy of narration; and as this intention is certainly a good one, there can be no reason why it should be neglected. Among the Lacedæmonians, then, who inhabit Sparta, there is in the first place a forum, which deserves to be inspected, and a place of consultation, in which the *Elders* assemble, together with the *Ephori*, the *Nomophilaces*, or guardians of the law, and those that are called the *Bidiæi*. And the *Elders*, indeed, are the persons that principally assist the Lacedæmonians in the affairs of government: but the *Ephori* and *Bidiæi*, each of which orders consists of five persons, preside over the games called Platanista, and other contests of the Spartan youth. The Ephori likewise take care of more serious concerns, and choose out of their number an Eponymus; just as at Athens, among those that are called the nine, one of them is the Archon Eponymus.

But that which is the most illustrious of all the works in the forum, is the porch which they call Persica, because it was raised from the spoils of the Medes; and in course of time arrived at its present magnitude and ornament. On the pillars of this porch there are statues of several Persian commanders; and among these there is a statue of Mardonius the son of Gobryas, which is made of white stone. There is a statue, too, in the same place, of Arte-

misia, the daughter of Lydamis, queen of Halicarnassus. They report that she voluntarily assisted Xerxes against the Greeks, and behaved very valiantly in a naval engagement at Salamis. In the same forum, too, there are two temples, one of which was dedicated by Cæsar, viz. by him who was the first that desired to establish a monarchy among the Romans, and who first founded their present form of government; but the other was dedicated by his son Augustus, who gave greater stability to the government, and caused it to arrive at a greater degree of dignity and power than it obtained under the reign of his father. But, indeed, the name of *Augustus* signifies, in the Greek tongue, *venerable.*

But near the altar of Augustus there is a brazen image of Agias, who, they report, prophesied to Lysander, that he should take all the Athenian fleet, at the river Ægos, except ten three-oared galleys, which would withdraw themselves to Cyprus; but that the Lacedæmonians would take the rest, and the men with which they were filled. This Agias was the son of Agelochus, and the grandson of Tisamenus: and Tisamenus, who was an Elean and of the family of the Iamidæ, was told by an oracle, that he should be victor in five illustrious contests. But when he was vanquished in the quinquertium, at the Olympic games (for he was first of all victorious in two, having vanquished Andrius Hieronymus in the course, and in leaping, though he yielded the victory to him in wrestling), he then at length understood the meaning of the oracle, viz. that the god promised him the victory in five warlike contests. But the Lacedæmonians, who were not ignorant of what had been promised to Tisamenus by the oracle, persuaded him to migrate from Elis to Sparta, and assist the Lacedæmonians in common by his prophecies: and Tisamenus, after he had complied with their request, obtained in five battles the victory for the Spartans.

But the first engagement, in which he was victorious, was at Platæa against the Persians; the second, at Tegea, when the Lacedæmonians fought against the Tegeatæ and Argives; and the third at Dipæa, when all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans, opposed the Lacedæmonians. But the Dipæenses compose a small city of Arcadians in Mænalia. The fourth victory which he gained was over those Hilotæ, who, after the earthquake, caused the inhabitants of Ithome to revolt from the Hilotes. All the Hilotæ, however, did not revolt, but only the Messenici, who separated themselves from the ancient Hilotes. But I shall shortly explain the particulars pertaining to this affair. Then, indeed, the Lacedæmonians, by making a league with those that revolted, suffered them to depart, being persuaded to act in this manner by Tisamenus, and the oracle at Delphos. And lastly, Tisamenus predicted the fifth victory, when the Lacedæmonians fought with the Argives and Athenians at Tanagra. And such are the particulars which I have heard respecting Tisamenus.

But in the forum of the Spartans there are statues of Pythian Apollo, of Diana, and Latona: and all this place is called Chorus, because in the Gymnopædiæ (a festival which, if any, they celebrate with great pomp) the young men dance in honour of Apollo. Not far, too, from hence there is a temple of Earth, and of Agoræan Jupiter; and, besides these, of Minerva Agoræa, and of Neptune, whom they call Asphalius. There is also a temple of Apollo, and of Juno, and a statue of the Spartan people, of a prodigious magnitude. Among the Lacedæmonians, too, there is a temple of the Fates, and near it a sepulchre of Orestes the son of Agamemnon: for the bones of Orestes, being brought hither from Tegea, were buried in this place, by the command of the oracle. But near the sepulchre of Orestes there is an image of Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, who was honoured by the Lacedæmonians

above all their kings, and this to so great a degree, that the Spartan governors use the image of Polydorus for a public seal. There are here, too, a statue of Mercury Forensis, carrying a young Bacchus, and archives which they call Ephorea. In these there is a monument of the Cretan Epimenides, and of Aphareus the son of Perieres. I am, however, of opinion, that what the Lacedæmonians relate of Epimenides is more probable than the account given of him by the Argives. But where the temple of the Fates is situated, there the Phitidia are contained, among the Lacedæmonians, together with hospitable Jupiter, and hospitable Minerva.

CHAPTER XII.

On departing from the forum, along the road which is called Aphetæ, you will arrive at that place which is denominated Booneta. But my narration requires that I should first explain why this road came to be so called. They say, then, that Icarius, the father of Penelope, proposed to the suitors the contest of the course. And that Ulysses, indeed, was victor, must be obvious to every one: but they report that this race was ran in the Aphetæan road. It appears to me, indeed, that Icarius instituted this contest in imitation of Danaus: for Danaus, when he could not find any one disposed to marry his daughters, on account of their being polluted with parricide, declared, that he did not require a marriage portion, but would leave his daughters free to marry the men that appeared most beautiful in their eyes. This proclamation collected a few suitors, and the contest of the race being proposed to them, he that outran all the rest was to have the first choice, and take her whom he most approved; he that was next in

order was to have the second choice, and so on to the last: and those that had no suitors, were ordered to wait till new ones came to the course.

But on this road, as I have already observed, the Lacedæmonians have a place which they call Booneta. This was once the house of king Polydorus; and, after his death, was bought of his wife for certain oxen: for at that time there was not any coin, either of silver or gold, but, according to ancient custom, they mutually gave and received for what they wanted, oxen, slaves, and rude silver and gold. Indeed, even at present, those that sail to the Indies report, that Indian rewards are given for the Grecian commodities which are carried thither, but that the inhabitants are unacquainted with money, though their country abounds with gold and brass. But beyond the palace of the Bidiææ there is a temple of Minerva, in which Ulysses is said to have dedicated a statue, and to have called it Celeuthea, in consequence of having vanquished the suitors of Penelope in the course. There are three temples, too, of Minerva Celeuthea in different places. But on proceeding from hence, about the Aphetæan road, there are several heroic monuments; one of Iops, who appears to have lived about the time of Lelex or Myles; another of Amphiaraus the son of Oiclees, and which, they think, was constructed by the children of Tyndarus to Amphiaraus, as to their cousin; and a third of Lelex.

Not far, too, from these there is a temple of Neptune Tænarius, and which they call Tænarium. And near this there is a statue of Minerva, which they report was dedicated by those that brought a colony into Italy and Tarentum. But the place which they call Hellenium was, according to some, so denominated, because, at the time when Xerxes passed over into Europe, the Grecian cities, that took up arms against him, consulted here about the most effectual means of opposing him; but, according to

others, it received its name from those leaders that followed Menelaus to Troy, consulting in this place how they should sail to Troy, and punish Paris for the rape of Helen. But near the Hellenium they exhibit the monument of Talthybius. The Ægienses, too, among the Achaians, exhibit a monument in the forum, which they say is the sepulchre of Talthybius. And this Talthybius, indeed, evinced his anger against the Lacedæmonians, on account of the slaughter of the ambassadors of Darius, who came to request earth and water; but against the Athenians, by seizing on the house of Miltiades the son of Cimon, because he was the means of the Athenians putting to death the ambassadors that came into Attica.

Among the Lacedæmonians, too, there is an altar of Apollo Acritas, and a temple of Earth, which is called Gaseptum. But Apollo Maleatas is raised above this. But about the end of the road Aphetæ, and very near the walls, there is a temple of Dictynna, and royal sepulchres of those that are called the Eurypontidæ. Near the Hellenium, too, there is a temple of Arsinoe, the daughter of Leucippus, and the sister of the wives of Castor and Pollux. But in that part which they call *the Fortifications* there is a temple of Diana: and proceeding a little farther, you will see a sepulchre which was raised for those prophets who came from Elis, and are called Iamidæ. There is also a temple of Maro and Alpheus, whose military virtue, in the battle at the Thermopylæ, shone the most conspicuous of all, after Leonidas. But the temple of Jupiter Tropæus was raised by the Dorienses, when they vanquished in battle as well the other Achaians, who then possessed the Laconic land, as the Amyclæenses themselves.

But the temple of *the Great Mother* is reverenced by the Spartans in a most eminent degree. And after this, there are heroic monuments of Hippolytus, Theseus, and

Aulon the Arcadian, the son of Tlesimenes. This Tlesimenes, according to some, was the brother, but, according to others, the son of Parthenopæus, the son of Melanion. But there is another passage from the forum, about which there is a building called Scias, in which assemblies are held even at present. This building is said to have been, the work of Theodorus the Samian, who first discovered the method of casting iron, and making images from it. In the same place, too, the Lacedæmonians suspended the harp of Timotheus the Milesian, whom they accused, because in the modulation of the harp he added four chords to the seven strings of the ancients. But near the building Scias there is a round edifice, in which there are statues of Jupiter and Venus, each of which is called Olympian. They report, that Epimenides raised this building, and do not assent to what the Argives relate concerning him: for they say, that the Argives never warred on the Gnossians.

CHAPTER XIII.

Near this edifice there is a sepulchre of Cynortas the son of Amycla. There is also a monument of Castor, and together with it a temple: for they report, that in the fortieth year after the battle against Idas and Lynceus the sons of Tyndareus were considered as gods, and not before this period. Near Scias, too, the tomb of Idas and Lynceus is exhibited. It is more probable, however, that they were buried at Messenia, and not in this place. But the calamities of the Messenians, and the length of time in which they were exiled beyond Peloponnesus, caused many monuments of antiquity to be unknown to them on their return; and in consequence of this ignorance of theirs,

this particular respecting the tomb of Idas and Lynceus must be dubious to every one. Opposite, too, to the temple of Olympian Venus, there is a temple of Proserpine *the Saviour*, which they report was raised by the Thracian Orpheus; but, according to others, it was built by Abaris, who came from the Hyperborei. But Carneus, whom they call *the domestic*, was honoured in Sparta before the children of Hercules returned from banishment: and a small temple was raised to him in the house of the prophet Crius, who was the son of Theocles. For when the spies of the Dorienses met with the daughter of this Crius as she went to draw water, they entered into discourse with her, and afterwards coming to Crius, learnt from him the means of taking Sparta.

The veneration, indeed, which the Dorienses pay to Carneus Apollo, originated from Carnus, whose country was Acarnania, and who acquired the art of divination from Apollo. For when Hippotes the son of Phylas slew this Carnus, Apollo, enraged at the deed, made the camp of the Dorienses feel the effects of his anger; and Hippotes flying on account of this murder, the Dorienses established propitiatory rites, in order to appease the Acarnanian prophet. But, indeed, this Carnus Apollo is not with the Lacedæmonians that Carnus who is called *the domestic;* for this last, as I have before observed, was worshipped in the house of the prophet Crius, while the Achaians possessed Sparta. Praxilla, too, relates, in her verses, that Carneus was the son of Europa, but that he was educated by Apollo and Latona. There is also another report concerning him, as follows: In the Trojan mount Ida, cornel trees were cut down in the grove of Apollo, in order to construct the wooden horse; but the parties concerned, finding that, by this action, they had incurred the anger of the god, appeased him by sacrifices, and called

him *Carneus*, by transposing, after the ancient manner, the letter *r*.

But not far from the temple of Carnus Apollo there is a statue, which is called the statue of Aphetæus: and they report, that in this place the beginning of the course commenced to the suitors of Penelope. There is a certain place, too, which contains porches of a square figure, and where, in ancient times, old goods were sold. Near this there is an altar of Jupiter Ambulius, and of Minerva Ambulia, and, besides these, of the Dioscuri, under the appellation of the Ambulii. But opposite to this place you will see that which is called Colona, or *a hill*, and a temple of Bacchus Colonata. Near this, too, there is a grove sacred to that hero, who, they report, conducted Bacchus to Sparta. The Dionysiades and the Leucippides sacrifice to this hero, before they sacrifice to the god: and they propose the contest of the course to eleven other women, whom they also call Dionysiades, in consequence of an injunction given them to this purpose by the Delphic oracle.

But not far from the temple of Bacchus there is a temple of Jupiter Eunanemus: and on the right hand of this there is an heroic monument of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus, on the mother's side, descended from this Pleuron: for Areus in his verses says, that Thestius was the father of Leda, and the son of Agenor, who was the son of Pleuron. Not far from this monument there is a hill, on the top of which there is a temple of Argive Juno. They report, that this temple was dedicated by Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedæmon, and the wife of Acrisius the son of Abas. But the temple of Juno Hyperchiria was raised in consequence of an oracle, when the river Eurotas washed away much of the land: and they call the ancient wooden statue within the temple, the statue of Venus Juno.

It is usual with mothers to sacrifice to this statue for the nuptials of their daughters. In the road, on the right hand of this hill, there is an image of Hetoemocles, who (and this was likewise the case with his father Hipposthenes) was declared victor at the wrestling in the Olympic games: and this happened to both eleven times; but the father surpassed the son by one victory.

CHAPTER XIV.

On proceeding from the forum towards the west, you will see an empty sepulchre of Brasidas the son of Tellis: and not far from this tomb there is a theatre of white stone, which deserves to be inspected. Opposite to this theatre there is a sepulchre of Pausanias, who was the general of the Platæenses, and another sepulchre of Leonidas. Every year orations are delivered in praise of these two; and games are celebrated, in which none but Spartans are allowed to contend. And the bones, indeed, of Leonidas were brought from the Thermopylæ forty years after his death, and buried in this place. A pillar, too, is erected here, in which the paternal names are inscribed of those that sustained the attack of the Medes at the Thermopylæ. There is a place, too, in Sparta, which is called Theomelidæ; and in this part of the city the tombs of the kings called Agidæ are contained; and near this you may perceive that which is called the disputing place of the Crotani. But the Crotani are portions of the Pitanati.

Not far from this place of disputation there is a temple of Æsculapius, which is called Enapadon; and on proceeding from hence you will perceive the sepulchre of Tænarus, from whom, as they report, the promontory, which raises itself in the sea, was denominated. The tem-

ples of the gods, which this place contains, are, that of Neptune Hippocurius, and of Diana Æginæa. But on returning back to Lesche, you will see the temple of Diana Isora, whom they likewise denominate Limnæa. This goddess is not indeed Diana, but the Britomartis of the Cretans, who is mentioned by me, in my description of the affairs of the Æginetæ. But very near the monuments of the kings called Agidæ you will perceive a pillar, in which the victories of a Lacedæmonian, called Anchionis, in the course are inscribed: as well other, as his Olympic victories, which are seven, viz. four in the stadium, and the rest in the repeated course. He was not, however, victorious in the course with the shield, in which he engaged when the games were nearly finished. They report, too, that this Anchionis partook of the military expedition of Battus Theræus, that he brought a colony to Cyrene, and, in conjunction with Battus, expelled the people that dwelt about Libya.

But they report that the temple of Thetis was raised on the following account: When they warred on the Messenians on account of their revolt, their king Anaxandrus invading Messenia enslaved many of the women, and among these Cleo, who was the priestess of Thetis. Leandris the wife of Anaxandrus, desired him to give her this Cleo; and finding that she possessed the wooden statue of Thetis, dedicated a temple to the goddess, in consequence of a vision in a dream. But they preserve this image of Thetis in an arcane recess; and assert, that the religious institutions respecting *terrestrial Ceres* were delivered to them by Orpheus. It appears to me, however, that Ceres came to be considered as *terrestrial* by the Lacedæmonians, in consequence of the temple in Hermione. Among the Spartans, too, there is a very recent temple of Serapis, and a temple of Jupiter Olympius. They have likewise a place which they call Dromus, and which, even

at present, is assigned to young men for the purpose of exercising themselves in the course.

On proceeding to this place from the tombs of the Agidæ, you will perceive, on the left hand, the monument of Eumedes. This Eumedes was the son of Hippocoon. Here, too, there is an ancient statue of Hercules, to which the *Sphærii* sacrifice; for so those persons are called by the Spartans, who from youths are just starting into manhood. But there are Gymnasia in the Dromus, one of which was dedicated by the Spartan Eurycles. And beyond the Dromus, and near the statue of Hercules, there is a house which at present belongs to a private person, but was formerly the property of Menelaus. But on leaving the Dromus you will see the temples of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, Lucina, Apollo Carneus, and Diana Hegemache, or *the leader of battles*. On the right hand, too, of the Dromus there is a temple of Agnitas, which is an appellation of Æsculapius, because the statue of the god is made of agnus or the willow-tree, which is similar to the rhamnus or white bramble.

But not far from the temple of Æsculapius there is a trophy, which they say was raised by Pollux, for the victory which he obtained over Lynceus: and this very circumstance evinces to me, that the children of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. But near the beginning of the Dromus the Dioscuri Apheterii are to be seen; and, at a little distance from hence, the heroic monument of Alcon presents itself to the view. This Alcon is said to have been the son of Hippocoon. Near the temple of Alcon, too, there is a temple of Neptune, which they call Domatite; and the place in which it stands is called Platanistus, from the trees with which it abounds; for it is surrounded with lofty and thick-set plane-trees. But the place in which the young men contend with each other is circularly invested by the Euripus, in the same manner as an island by

the sea; and the passage to it is over bridges. On one side of these bridges there is a statue of Hercules, and, on the other, of Lycurgus. Indeed Lycurgus established laws, both for other concerns of the polity, and for the contests of the youth; who also perform other particulars, agreeable to ancient institutions, and sacrifice in the Ephebeum prior to their contest.

But the Ephebeum is beyond the city, not far from Therapne; and in this place each band of young men sacrifices a canine whelp to Enyalian Mars, as they are of opinion that the strongest and bravest of tame animals ought to be sacrificed to the strongest of gods. I do not, however, know of any other Greeks who sacrifice canine whelps, except the Colophonians. For the Colophonians sacrifice a black whelp to Enodian Hecate: and both the Colophonians and Lacedæmonian youth establish nocturnal sacrifices. In this sacrifice, too, the Spartan youth cause two tame boars to fight with each other: and it so happens, for the most part, that the band to which the victorious boar belongs bears away the palm in the Platanistus. And such are their transactions in the Ephebeum. But on the following day, and before noon, the boys pass over the bridges into that place which, we have said, is surrounded with the Euripus; and in the night preceding this day the road which each party is to take is determined by lots. But these young men attack each other with their hands, and kick with their heels; they likewise bite and tear out each others' eyes. And in this manner one youth fights another; but, besides this, they make violent attacks in collected bodies, and one party pushes the other into the water.

CHAPTER XV.

NEAR the Platanetus, too, there is an heroic monument of Cynisca the daughter of king Archidamus, who was the first woman that applied herself to the care of horses, and that bore away the palm of victory in the chariot-races at the Olympic games. But behind the porch which is raised near the Platanetus there are heroic monuments of Alcimus and Enaræphorus; and at no great distance from hence there is an heroic monument of Dorceus, and above this of Sebrus. These are said to have been the sons of Hippocoon. But a fountain, which is near the monument of Dorceus, is called from him Dorcea; and from Sebrius the place is called Sebrium. On the right hand, too, of the monument of Sebrius there is a sepulchre of Alcman, who in composing songs was not discouraged by the Laconic dialect, which affords very little sweetness to the ear. There are likewise in this place the temples of Helen and Hercules; the former near the tomb of Alcman, and the latter very near the walls. In this last, too, there is an armed statue of Hercules; and the figure of the statue is said to have arisen from the contest of Hercules with Hippocoon and his sons.

They likewise report, that the hatred of Hercules originated in the house of Hippocoon; because when Hercules, after the death of Iphitus, came to Sparta in order to be purified from the slaughter, the Spartans did not think proper to gratify his request. The following circumstance, too, gave rise to the war: Œonus, who was the cousin of Hercules (for he was the son of Licymnius the brother of Alcmene), when he was a young man, came with Hercules to Sparta; and, as he was walking about and surveying the city, came by accident to the house of

Hippocoon. But here, a dog, the guardian of the house, flew upon him, and Œonus, taking up a stone, hurled it at the dog; upon which the sons of Hippocoon swiftly pursued Œonus, and slew him with their staffs. This affair, however, violently enraged Hercules against Hippocoon and his sons; and, giving way to his anger, he attacked them with arms, but receiving a wound in the engagement, privately withdrew himself: but afterwards, having collected a body of forces, he revenged the murder of Œonus, by the death of Hippocoon and his sons. And the sepulchre of Œonus is to be seen near the temple of Hercules.

But on proceeding from the Dromus towards the east, there is a road on the right hand, and in it a temple of Minerva *Axiopœna*. This temple was, they report, dedicated by Hercules, when he took just vengeance on Hippocoon and his sons for their former behaviour: but it was so called because the ancients denominated *vengeance, pœna* or *punishment*. There is also another temple of Minerva in a road which, when you leave the Dromus, is on the left hand. This temple, as they report, was dedicated by Theras the son of Autesion, the grandson of Tisamenus, and the great-grandson of Thersander, when he brought a colony into that island, which is now from him called Thera, but was formerly denominated Calliste. Near this is the temple of Hipposthenes, who in wrestling was often victorious. But they religiously venerate Hipposthenes, in consequence of an oracle, which admonished them, that by this means they would pay divine honours to Neptune.

Opposite, too, to this temple, there is an ancient statue of Enyalius in fetters. And this statue was fabricated by the Lacedæmonians, with the same design as the Victory without wings of the Athenians: for the former presume that Enyalius will never depart from them, as he is confined

in fetters; and the latter, that Victory will always remain with them, as she is without wings. In Sparta, too, there is a place of disputation, which they call *various*; and near it there are heroic monuments of Cadmus the son of Agenor, of the posterity of Oiolycus the son of Theras, and of Ægeus the son of Oiolycus. Mæsis, Læas, and Europas are said to have made these monuments; and these persons are reported to have been the sons of Hyræus, and the grandsons of Ægeus. They are likewise said to have made the heroic monument of Amphilochus, because the mother of Tisamenus, who was their great-grandfather's grandfather, was Demonassa the sister of Amphilochus. But the Lacedæmonians alone of all the Greeks worship Juno, under the appellation of Œgophagus, and sacrifice she-goats to the goddess. They report, indeed, that Hercules established this temple, and first sacrificed she-goats; because, when he fought against Hippocoön and his sons, he suffered no impediment from Juno, though in other contests the goddess always appeared to oppose him. They add, that he sacrificed she-goats, because he was destitute of victims of another kind.

But not far from the theatre there is a temple of *Natal* Neptune, and heroic monuments of Cleodæus the son of Hyllus, and of Œbalus. And with respect to the temple of Æsculapius, the most noble in the dominions of the Lacedæmonians is that at Booneta. But on the left hand of this temple there is an heroic monument of Teleclus, of which I shall hereafter make mention in my description of the Messenian affairs. At a little distance from hence there is a hill of no great magnitude, and on it an ancient temple and a wooden statue of an armed Venus. This temple alone, of all I have ever seen, has another building raised upon it, and this is the temple of *Morpho*, which is an appellation of Venus. The goddess is represented sitting, veiled, and with bonds about her feet. They report,

that Tyndarus added these bonds, in order to represent the stability which women ought to possess towards their husbands. For I cannot by any means admit the report, which says that Tyndarus punished the goddess with chains, because he considered the disgrace of his daughters as arising from Venus; as it would be perfectly foolish to expect to be revenged on the goddess, by making an image of cedar, and calling it by the name of Venus.

CHAPTER XVI.

Near this is the temple of Hilaira and Phœbe, who, according to the author of the Cyprian verses, were the daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are virgins, and are called Leucippides, as well as the goddesses. And one of the statues, indeed, was adorned by one of the Leucippides, who ministered to the goddesses in their sacred rites, with a new face instead of the old one, and this in a manner correspondent to the artifice with which statues are usually made at present; but she was deterred by a dream from acting in the same manner by the other. An egg depends from the roof of this temple, bound with fillets: and they report, that this is the egg which Leda brought forth. The women every year weave a garment for that Apollo which is at Amyclæ, and call the place in which they weave it Chiton. Near this temple there is a house, which at first, as they report, was inhabited by the sons of Tyndarus: but in after-times it was possessed by the Spartan Phormio. The Dioscuri once came to this house in the habits of strangers, and, feigning that they came from Cyrene, begged that they might be received here as guests, and requested that apartment with which they were most pleased when they dwelt among men. But

Phormio told them, that all the other parts of his house were at their service, but that the apartment they desired was occupied by his daughter, who was a virgin. On the following day, however, both the virgin and all her attendants disappeared; but the statues of the Dioscuri were found in this apartment, together with a table, and upon it the fruit called master-wort. And such are the reports about this house.

But as you proceed from the Chiton towards the gates there is an heroic monument of Chilon, who was considered as a wise man, and of an Athenian hero, who was one of those that, with Dorieus the son of Anaxandridas, passed over with a fleet into Sicily, and there established a colony. But the reason of his bringing a colony hither was, because the Erycinian land was thought to belong to the posterity of Hercules, and not to the Barbarians by whom it was possessed. For they report, that Hercules wrestled with Eryx on these conditions, that if he was victor, the country possessed by Eryx should be his; but that if he was vanquished, he should give to Eryx the oxen of Geryon: for at that time Hercules drove these before him; and when they swam over to Sicily, he also passed over in the cup of the sun, that he might find them. But the benevolence of the gods towards Hercules was much greater than that which they afterwards exhibited to Dorieus the son of Anaxandridas: for Hercules slew Eryx, but Dorieus and all his army were nearly cut off by the Egestani.

The Lacedæmonians, too, have raised a temple to Lycurgus their legislator, as to a god: and behind this temple there is a tomb of Eucosmus the son of Lycurgus, and near it an altar of Lathria and Anaxandra. These sisters were twins, and were married to the sons of Aristodemus, who were also twins. But they were the daughters of Thersander, who was the son of Agamididas, king of the

Cleestonææ, but the great-grandson of Ctesippus the son of Hercules. Opposite to this temple there is a monument of Theopompus the son of Nicander, and another of Eurybiadas, who fought a naval battle for the Lacedæmonians against the Medes, in three-oared galleys, at Artemisium and Salamis. Near this is the heroic monument, as it is called, of Astrabacus. But the place which is called Limnæum contains a temple of Orthia Diana: and the wooden statue of the goddess is said to be that which Orestes and Iphigenia formerly took away from Taurica. They report, that the Lacedæmonians brought this into their own country, as Orestes was one of their kings. And they appear to me, in this, to speak much more probably than the Athenians. For why should Iphigenia have left the statue of the goddess in Brauron? Or how came it to pass, that, when the Athenians prepared to leave the country, they did not carry this statue away in their ships? For even at present the name of the Tauric goddess is so illustrious, that the Cappadocians and inhabitants of the Euxine contend with each other about the possession of the statue of the goddess.

Is it probable, therefore, that the Athenians would suffer the Medes to carry away such a statue as their prize? For the statue which was brought from Brauron to Susa was afterwards given by Seleucus to the Syrian Laodicenses, and is even possessed by them at present. Indeed, that the statue of Diana Orthia, among the Lacedæmonians, is that which was taken from the Barbarians, is evident, in the first place, from hence, that Astrabacus and Alopecus, the sons of Irbus, the grandsons of Amphisthenes, and the great-grandsons of Amphicles the son of Agis, having found this statue, were immediately deprived of their reason: and, in the second place, the Limnatæ among the Spartans, and the Cynosurenses, and those who came from Mesoa and Pitane, while they were sacrificing to Diana,

quarrelled with and even slew each other: and, as many of them died at the altar, the rest were destroyed by disease. Hence an oracle was given, signifying that this altar ought to be sprinkled with human blood. Lycurgus, however, changed the custom of sacrificing a man by lot, to the scourging of young men with whips; as by this means the altar is equally imbued with human blood. But a female presides over the sacred rites; and while the young men are scourged, she holds the statue, which is but light on account of its smallness. If, however, any of the youths that are scourged are spared in the least, either on account of their beauty or rank, the image becomes so heavy that the priestess is no longer able to hold it. But whenever this is the case she accuses the scourgers, and says, that she is thus oppressed through them;—so much is the image delighted with human blood, on account of the sacrifices in Taurica. They call this goddess, too, not only Orthia, but Lygodesma, because the statue was found in a bush of willows: and it was so inclosed by them that it remained in an upright posture.

CHAPTER XVII.

But the temple of Lucina is not far from that of Diana Orthia. They report that this temple was built, and that Lucina came to be considered as a goddess, in consequence of the Delphic oracle. The Lacedæmonians, however, have not a tower conspicuous for its elevation, in the same manner as the Cadmea of the Thebans, or the Larissa of the Argives. But as there are many hills in the city, they call the highest of these the tower. In this eminence there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Poliuchus and Chalciœcus. Tyndareus, as they report, began to build this

temple; and after his death his children attempted to finish it, and employed the spoils of Aphidne in its fabrication. However, as they died prior to its completion, the Lacedæmonians, many years after, built the temple, and made a statue of Minerva from brass. But the artificer was Gitiadas a native of Sparta, who composed Doric songs and a hymn to the goddess. Many, too, of the labours of Hercules are represented in brass; and many of his voluntary undertakings, which he brought to a happy conclusion.

But the other transactions of the children of Tyndarus, and their forcibly taking away the daughters of Leucippus, are here represented, together with Vulcan freeing his mother from her bonds; the particulars respecting all which I have already related in my description of the Attic affairs. Perseus, too, is represented here, directing his course to Africa against Medusa; and the Nymphs are seen giving him a helmet, and wings to his feet for the purpose of enabling him to pass through the air. And, lastly, the particulars pertaining to the origin of Minerva, together with Amphitrite and Neptune, are accurately fabricated, and appear to me to excel the rest, and to be particularly worthy of inspection. After these, there is a temple of Minerva Ergane; and in that porch which is situated towards the south, there is a temple of Jupiter Cosmetas, and before it a monument of Tyndarus. But the porch which looks towards the west contains two eagles, upon each of which there is a Victory. These were the gifts of Lysander; and were dedicated by him as monuments of a twofold victory which he obtained, viz. over Antiochus the governor of Alcibiades, and at the same time over the three-oared galleys of the Athenians; and afterwards at Ægospotamos, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet.

But on the left hand of Chalcioecus there is a temple of the Muses; because the Lacedæmonians march to battle,

not to the sound of trumpets, but with the melody of pipes, the lyre, and the harp. Behind the Chalcicœcus, too, there is a temple of Martial Venus, and the wooden statues which it contains are as ancient as those in any part of Greece. But on the right hand of Chalcicœcus there is a brazen statue of Jupiter, the most ancient of all the brazen works which this place contains: for the whole of this statue is not one continued work, but the parts were fabricated separately, and afterwards so aptly united together with nails, as not to be capable of dissolution. They report that Learchus of Rhegium made this statue, who, according to some, was the disciple of Dipœnus and Scyllis, but, according to others, of Dædalus himself. In that place, too, which they call Scenoma, there is an image of a woman. The Lacedæmonians say, that this woman is Euryleonida, who obtained the victory in the Olympic contest of the two-yoked car. But near the altar of Chalcicœcus there are two images of that Pausanias, who was general of the army in the battle at Platææ.

I shall not, however, at present relate the particulars respecting Pausanias, because they are known to every one. Besides, they may be read by those that have accurately written about his affairs. But I have heard from a certain Byzantian, that this Pausanias, having betrayed the trust committed to his charge, was alone of all the suppliants that fled to Chalcicœcus incapable of obtaining his pardon, and this for no other reason than that he could not purify himself from the stains of slaughter. For when he fixed his camp at the Hellespont, and was commander both of the Spartan fleet and that of the allies, he fell in love with a certain Byzantian virgin. As soon, therefore, as it was night, Cleonice (for that was the name of the virgin) was led to him; and Pausanias, who fell asleep before she arrived, was roused by a sudden noise: for as she was approaching towards him she undesignedly dropt

the burning lamp; and Pausanias, who, conscious of his own conduct in betraying Greece, was always harassed with distraction and terror, was then so much alarmed that he slew the virgin with a Persian scimitar. This was the deed from the guilt of which Pausanias could never fly, though he employed all-various purifications, received the deprecations of Jupiter Phyxius, and went to Phigalea to the Arcadian evocators of souls. He therefore suffered a just punishment for his behaviour towards Cleonice, and divinity itself. But the Lacedæmonians, by order of the Delphic oracle, have made brazen images, and venerate a dæmon under the appellation of Epidote, who, they assert, averts from them the divine wrath arising from the rejected supplication of Pausanias.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Near the statues of Pausanias there is a statue of Venus Ambologera (or the goddess who retards old age), which was dedicated in consequence of an oracle. There are, also, statues of Sleep and Death: and these two, according to the verses in the Iliad, are believed to be brothers. But on directing your course towards Alpius there is a temple of Minerva Ophthalmitis, which, as they report, was dedicated by Lycurgus, when he lost one of his eyes through Alcander, who was displeased with his laws. Lycurgus, therefore, flying for refuge to this place, was preserved by the Lacedæmonians from losing his other eye, and, in grateful memorial of this, raised the temple of Minerva Ophthalmitis. Leaving this place you will perceive the temple of Ammon: and it appears, indeed, that the Lacedæmonians from the first used the Libyan oracle the most of all the Greeks. It is reported, too, that Lysander, when

he besieged Aphytis, a town in Pallene, saw in a vision at night Ammon, who warned him, that it would be better, both for him and Lacedæmon, to desist from warring on the Aphytæi; and that, in consequence of this, Lysander desisted from all further hostilities, and caused the Lacedæmonians to venerate this divinity in an eminent degree.

The Aphytæi, indeed, reverence Ammon no less than the Ammonians that dwell in Libya. But the particulars which are reported concerning Diana Cnagia, are as follow: Cnagea, a man who was a native of Sparta, came with the Dioscuri to the siege of Aphidna, but being taken captive in the battle and sold in Crete, he was a servant in that part which contains the temple of Diana. In course of time, however, he fled from his servitude, and a virgin, one of the priestesses of the temple, fled with him, taking away with her the statue of the goddess. And from this circumstance, as they report, Diana came to be called Cnagia. It appears to me, however, that this Cnageus came into Crete for a reason different from that assigned by the Lacedæmonians; since I do not think that there ever was any engagement at Aphidna, as Theseus was at that time detained in Thesprotia, and was not upon friendly terms with the Athenians, who were then more inclined to favour Mnestheus. And even admitting that an engagement took place, it does not appear probable that any one of the victorious party should be enslaved, especially as the Lacedæmonians were so powerful from their victories, that they might have taken Aphidna itself. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind.

But on coming from Sparta to Amyclæ, you will see the river Tiasa; and they are of opinion, that Tiasa was the daughter of Eurotas. Near this river is the temple of the Graces, of Phaenna, and Cleta, who are rendered illustrious by the verses of Alcman. They believe, too, that Lacedæmon established this temple of the Graces, and

likewise assigned the names. But the particulars in Amyclæ worthy of inspection are, first, a man standing on a pillar, whose name is Ænetus, and who contended in the quinquertium. This man being declared victor in the Olympic games, and receiving in consequence of this a crown, immediately died. Of him, therefore, there is an image; and, besides this, brazen tripods. But they report, that the ten more ancient tripods were taken in the war which they waged with the Messenians. Under the first of these tripods the statue of Venus stands; under the second that of Diana: and the tripods, with the works which they contain, were made by Gitiadas. But the third was made by Æginetes Callon; and under this Proserpine stands.

Again, Aristander the Parian made the image of the woman with a lyre, viz. Sparta; and Polycletus the Argive made the Venus, which is called WITH AMYCLÆUS. These tripods surpass the others in magnitude, and were dedicated on account of the victory at Ægospotamos. But the other gifts which are added to the throne, viz. the Graces, and the statue of Diana Lycophrone, were not only dedicated, but made by Bathycles Magnesius, who made the throne of Amyclæus. I shall, however, omit relating from whom Bathycles learnt his art, or during whose reign at Sparta he made the throne. This throne I have seen myself, and shall therefore describe the ornaments which it contains. It is sustained, then, both behind and before, by two Graces and as many Hours. But on the left hand Hydra and Typhon are beheld; and on the right hand the Tritons. It would be troublesome, indeed, to the reader, should I attempt to describe accurately every particular about this throne, though otherwise there are many things which deserve to be well regarded by the acute observer. But Neptune and Jupiter carry Taygete the daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone. Atlas himself, too, is carved, and the single contest of Hercules with

Cycnus, together with the battle of the Centaurs with Pholus. I cannot, however, assign the reason why Bathycles has represented the Minotaur bound, and drawn along alive by Theseus.

In the same throne, too, there is a choir of the Phæacians, and Demodocus singing; and the achievement of Perseus against Medea is represented. And, not to mention the contest of Hercules with the giant Thurius, and of Tyndarus with Eurytus, you may there perceive the daughters of Leucippus forcibly taken away; Mercury carrying Bacchus, while he was yet a boy, to heaven; and Minerva leading Hercules to an association, from that time, with the gods. Besides these, Peleus is represented delivering Achilles to be educated by Chiron; Cephalus is seen carried away by Aurora on account of his beauty; and the gods celebrating the marriage of Harmony with gifts. The single contest, too, of Achilles with Memnon is here represented; Hercules slaying Diomed, king of Thrace, and Nessus, by the river Euenus; Mercury leading the goddesses to take the judgment of Paris; and Adrastus and Tydeus causing the battle to cease between Amphiaraus and Lycurgus the son of Pronax. Here, likewise, Juno is seen looking at Io the daughter of Inachus changed into a cow; and Minerva flying from the pursuit of Vulcan. Besides these, you may see the exploits of Hercules against the Hydra orderly represented, together with his dragging the three-mouthed dog from Hades. Anaxias and Mnasinous, too, are seen on horseback; and Megapenthes and Nicostratus the sons of Menelaus are carried on the same horse.

Here, too, you may behold Bellerophontes slaying the Lycian savage, and Hercules driving along the oxen of Geryon. But on the higher extremities of the throne the sons of Tyndarus are seated on horseback, on each side: and beneath the horses there are sphinxes, and wild beasts

running above them, viz. a panther against Castor, and a lioness against Pollux. On the highest part, too, of the throne there is a choir of the Magnetes, who assisted Bathycles in fabricating the throne. But if you go under the throne, in order to behold its more interior parts, you will first of all see, in the place where the Tritons are represented, the hunting of the Calydonian boar; Hercules slaying the sons of Actor; Calais and Zetes driving away the harpies from Phineus; Pirithous and Theseus forcibly taking away Helen; Hercules strangling the lion; and Apollo and Diana piercing Tityus with their arrows. Here are likewise to be seen the battle of Hercules with Oreus the Centaur, and of Theseus with the Minotaur; and again the battle of Hercules with Achelous; and the particulars reported about Juno, viz. that she was bound by Vulcan. After these the games are represented which Acastus established, and the particulars which are related in the Odyssey about Menelaus and the Ægyptian Proteus. And, lastly, Admetus is seen yoking a boar and a lion to a car; and the Trojans are carrying funeral sacrifices to Hector.

CHAPTER XIX.

But the throne, in that part which was prepared for the god to sit on, is not throughout continuous, but has many seats, and between each there is a considerable interval. Of these, the middle is the broadest, and contains a statue, the magnitude of which I do not find delivered by any one. It appears, however, to me, to be about thirty cubits. This was not the work of Bathycles; for it is ancient, and made without art; and, except the face, the extremities of the feet, and the hands, the whole is similar to a brazen pillar. The statue has a helmet on its head, and a lance and bow

in its hands. But the base of the statue is in the form of an altar, and is said to contain the dead body of Hyacinthus. Indeed, before they sacrifice to Apollo, they perform funeral rites to Hyacinthus upon this altar, through a brazen door which is in the left side of the altar. The carvings in this altar are as follow: The statues of Biris, Amphitrite, and Neptune; Jupiter and Mercury discoursing with each other; near them Bacchus and Semele, and Ino next to Semele.

In this altar, too, there are Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto; together with these, the Parcæ and the Hours; and to these are added Venus, Minerva, and Diana. These divinities are represented carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and his sister Polybœa, who, as they report, died while she was a virgin. This statue, too, of Hyacinthus has a beard; and Nicias Nicomedensis has represented him, in his painting, as a remarkably elegant figure; and at the same time has signified the love of Apollo towards him. Besides these, Hercules may be seen in this altar, led to heaven by Minerva and the other gods. You may behold, too, the daughters of Thestius, the Muses, and the Hours. But the particulars which are related of the wind Zephyr, and how Hyacinthus was involuntarily slain by Apollo, and likewise concerning the flower, were perhaps far different from the general report.

But Amycla, which was subverted by the Dorienses, and which is at present a village, contains a temple of Alexandra, and a statue, both which deserve to be inspected. The Amyclæenses report, that this Alexandra is Cassandra the daughter of Priam. In this place, too, there is an image of Clytemnestra, and a statue of Agamemnon which is considered as his sepulchre. The inhabitants of this place venerate Amyclæus and Bacchus, whom, in my opinion, they very properly denominate Psila. For the Dorienses call wings Psila: and men are no less ele-

vated by wine than birds by wings. And such are the particulars among the Amyclæenses which deserve to be related.

But another way from the city leads to Therapne. In this road there is a wooden statue of Minerva Alea: and before you have passed over the Eurotas, a little above the bank, you will perceive the temple of Jupiter the Opulent. But when you have passed over the river, the temple of Cotylæus Æsculapius presents itself to the view, which was raised by Hercules, who denominated Æsculapius *Cotyleus*, because in a former battle with Hippocoon and his children he received a wound in the *cotyle*, or hip. The temple of Mars, however, is the most ancient of every thing which is extant in this road; and the image of the god, which is on the left hand in the road, is reported to have been brought from Colchi by the Dioscuri. This statue they call Therita from Thero, who is said to have been the nurse of Mars. Perhaps, however, the name Therita is Colchian; for the Greeks do not know of any Thero the nurse of Mars. Indeed, it appears to me, that this appellation was not given to Mars from his nurse, but because in an engagement with an enemy it is necessary to be no longer *mild*. Just as Homer says respecting Achilles:

"His looks are as the lion's fierce.——"

But Therapne, the name of the country, was derived from the daughter of Lelex. In this place there is a temple of Menelaus: and they report, that Menelaus and Helen are buried here. The Rhodians, however, do not correspond in their report with the Lacedæmonians: for they say, that Helen, after the death of Menelaus, and while Orestes was yet wandering, being expelled the country by Nicostratus and Megapenthes, came to Rhodes to Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus, and a woman adapted to her circumstances at that time. For Polyxo was herself

an Argive, and having prior to this been married to Tlepolemus, fled with him to Rhodes; and after his death governed the island and educated the son which he left her. They report, therefore, that this Polyxo being desirous to revenge the death of Tlepolemus on Helen, as soon as Helen was in her power, sent her servants to her, as she was bathing, in the habits of the Furies; and these women seizing Helen, hung her on a tree; and, in memorial of this event, the Rhodians have dedicated a temple to Helen Dendritis.

I shall now, therefore, relate what the Crotoniatæ report concerning Helen, and to which the Himæri also assent. In the Euxine sea, then, near the exit of the Ister, there is an island sacred to Achilles, and which is called Leuce. This island is about twenty stadia in extent, is thick set with trees, and is full of savage and tame animals. It contains, too, a temple and statue of Achilles: and Crotoniates Leonymus is said to have been the first that sailed into it. For when the Crotonians warred on the Italian Locrians, the Locrians, in consequence of their familiarity with the Opuntii, called Ajax the son of Oileus to the battle; and Leonymus, who was the general of the Crotonians, attacking that part of the enemy's army which he heard was led on by Ajax, received a wound in the breast. As he suffered, therefore, very much from this wound, he came to Delphos in order to procure relief; and the Pythian oracle gave him for answer, that if he sailed to the island Leuce, Ajax would show him a remedy for his wound. In process of time, therefore, he was cured, and, returning home, reported that he had seen Achilles, together with Ajax the son of Oileus and Ajax Telamon; that Patroclus and Antilochus associated with these; that Helen was married to Achilles; and that she had ordered him, when he sailed to Himera, to tell Stesichorus, that the loss of his sight happened to him through the anger

of Helen. And in consequence of this, Stesichorus composed the verses which they call a recantation.

CHAPTER XX.

In Therapne, too, I have seen the fountain Messeis. Some of the Lacedæmonians, however, assert, that this is not the fountain which was called by the ancients Messeis, but that which is at present called Polydeucea. But the fountain Polydeucea, and the temple of Pollux, are on the right hand of that road which leads to Therapne. Not far, too, from Therapne there is a place called Ephebeum, and in it a temple of the Dioscuri: and in this place the youth sacrifice to Enyalian Mars. Again, not far from hence there is a temple of Neptune, under the appellation of Gæauchus, or *the earth containing god.* On proceeding from hence, as if going to Taygetus, there is a place called Alesia, in which, as they report, Myleta the son of Lelex first invented a hand-mill, and taught the inhabitants how to grind corn with it. Here, too, the Lacedæmonians have raised an heroic monument to the son of Taygete. But when you have passed over the river Phillias, and direct your course as if in a right line to the sea, you will arrive at Pharis, in the Laconic land, and which was once inhabited. And on departing from Phillias, there is a road on the right hand, which leads to the mountain Taygetus. In the plain about this mountain, there is a temple of Jupiter Messapeus; which appellation was derived from the name of a man who sacrificed to the god.

On leaving Taygetus, too, you will arrive at a town which was formerly the city Brisæ. In this place there is even yet a temple of Bacchus, and certain statues in the open air. But the statues which the temple contains the

women alone are permitted to behold. The women, too, alone perform sacrifices in the arcane recesses of the temple. But Taletum, which is the summit of Taygetus, raises itself above Bryseæ. They call this sacred to the sun: and in this place they sacrifice, among other things, horses to the sun. The same sacrifice, too, is, I know, reported to be adopted by the Persians. But not far from Taletum there is a thicket which is called Euoras, and which, among other wild beasts, nourishes sylvan goats. Taygetus, too, affords great plenty throughout of these goats, of boars, stags, and bears. But the place between Taletum and Euoras is denominated Thera. Not far, too, from the summits of Taygetus there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia: and the Lacedæmonians report, that Hercules was concealed in this temple, while he was healed of a wound by Æsculapius. In this temple there is a statue of Orpheus, which, as they report, was the work of the Pelasgi. I likewise know other sacred rites which are performed here, and which are different from those at Eleusis.

But near the sea there was a town called Helos, and which is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the Lacedæmonians:

> "Those whom Amyclæ holds, and those who dwell
> "In Helos, bord'ring on the briny main."

Helius the youngest son of Perseus brought hither a colony; and the Dorienses afterwards besieged and took the city. The inhabitants, too, of this city were the first public servants of the Lacedæmonians, and were first called Hilotæ, from the place of their birth. Afterwards, whatever servant the Dorienses possessed, although he might be a Messenian, they called an Hilot; just as the whole tribe of Greeks was called Hellas, from Hellas which was once a part of Thessaly. But from this town, which, as

we have observed, was formerly called Helos, they carry, on stated days, the image of Proserpine to Eleusinium: and a place called Lapithæum is distant from Eleusinium about fifteen stadia, and was so called from a native whose name was Lapithes. Lapithæum therefore is in Taygetus, and not far from it is Derrhion, in which place there is a statue in the open air of Diana Derrhiatis, and near it a fountain which they call Anonus. But on leaving Derrhion, at about the distance of twenty stadia, you will arrive at the Harplea, which extend as far as to the plain. And on proceeding from Sparta to Arcadia, you will see a statue in the open air of Minerva, who is called Pareæ. After this there is a temple of Achilles, which it is unlawful to open; but such of the youth as are about to contend in Platanistus sacrifice to Achilles, prior to their engagement. The Spartans report that Prax, the great-grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus, built this temple.

On proceeding a little farther, you will see the sepulchre of *Hippos*, as it is called, or *the horse:* for Tyndarus having in this place sacrificed a horse, ordered the suitors of Helen to stand by the entrails, and swear upon them. But the oath which they took was this: that they would assist Helen, and those that should marry Helen, if any injury should be offered to either. And after they had taken the oath, they buried the horse in this place. Not far from hence there are seven pillars raised in memorial of this affair, after the manner of the ancients, as it appears to me, and which they say are images of the seven planets. Along this road there is a grove of Cranius, which is called Stemnatius. There is also a temple of Diana Mysia. But the statue of Shame is distant from the city about thirty stadia, is said to have been dedicated by Icarius, and to have been made on the following account: When Icarius gave Penelope in marriage to Ulysses, he tried whether Ulysses was willing to reside in

Lacedæmon; but failing in his expectations, he entreated his daughter to remain with him. When Ulysses, too, departed for Ithaca, Icarius pursued his chariot, and having at length by his importunity vanquished his resistance, Ulysses freely permitted Penelope either to follow him, or return to Lacedæmon with her father. They report, that Penelope made no reply to the offer of Ulysses, but veiled her face; and that Icarius perceiving she was more inclined to Ulysses, suffered her to depart with him. In consequence of this, they dedicated, as they report, a statue of Shame in that part of the road in which Penelope veiled her face.

CHAPTER XXI.

On proceeding to the distance of about twenty stadia from hence, you will arrive at the river Eurotas, which flows very near this road. Here there is a monument of Ladas, who in swiftness of foot surpassed all the men of his time. In the Olympic games, he was crowned for having ran a longer race than usual. And, as it appears to me, being exhausted with his victory, he was immediately brought hither, and, dying here, was buried above the public road. But a person of the same name with Ladas, and who also was victor in the Olympic games, though not in the *longer race*, but in the stadium, was one Achivus of Ægium, as is testified by the written accounts of those Eleans who were victors in the Olympic games. But on directing your course as if towards Pellana, you will arrive at a place called Characoma. In former times, the city Pellana was near this place, in which Tyndarus is said to have dwelt, when he abandoned Sparta in consequence of flying from Hippocoon and his sons. In this

place I have seen the temple of Æsculapius, and the fountain Pellanis, which well deserve to be inspected. They report, that a virgin fell into this fountain, as she was drawing water, and that her veil was found in another fountain called Lancea. A place called Belemina is distant from Pellana about one hundred stadia; and is watered more than any other place in the Laconic region, as the water of the river Eurotas flows through it. Fountains, too, are contained here in great abundance.

But on descending to the sea, to Gytheum, you will arrive at a village belonging to the Lacedæmonians, of the name of Croceæ. The stone quarries in this place do not consist of one continued stone, but stones are dug out of them similar to such as are found in rivers, and which might be employed to advantage by artificers in adorning the temples of the gods. These stones, too, greatly contribute to the ornament of fish-ponds and fountains. Before this village a stone statue stands of Jupiter Croceatas: and near the stone-quarries there are brazen statues of the Dioscuri. On leaving Croceæ and turning on the right hand from the direct road to Gytheum, you will arrive at a small town called Ægiæ. They assert, that this town is called by Homer, Augeæ. There is a marsh here, which is called by the name of Neptune; and near it there is a temple, and a statue of the god. But they are afraid to fish in this lake, because it is reported, that those who catch the fish which it contains will be changed themselves into fishes. Gytheum is distant from Ægiæ about thirty stadia: and the Eleutherolacones dwell about its maritime parts, who were liberated from the yoke of slavery imposed on them by the Lacedæmonians, by the emperor Augustus.

The whole of Peloponnesus, too, is surrounded by the sea, except that part which contains the isthmus of the Corinthians. But the Laconic sea produces shell-fish,

from which purple is procured for the purpose of dying garments, and which is next in excellency to the Tyrian purple. There are eighteen cities of these Eleutherolacones; the first of which, on descending from Ægiæ to the sea, is Gytheum; afterwards Teuthrone, Las, Pyrrhicius, follow; near Tanarus, Cænepolis, Oetylos, Leuctra, Thalamæ, Alagonia, Gerenia, are situated; and beyond Gytheum, and near the sea, Asopus, Acria, Bocæ, Zaraz, Epidaurus (which is called Limera), Brasia, Geronthræ, and Marios. And these are all the cities which are left of the Eleutherolacones, out of twenty-four, which was their number at first. But the other towns belonging to Sparta, which I shall mention, do not use the same laws as those I have already described. The Gytheatæ, too, do not refer their origin to any mortal, but report that Hercules and Apollo, when they contended about the tripod, after their dispute was at an end, built the city in common. Hence the statues of Apollo and Hercules are placed in the forum belonging to these people: and near these divinities, there is a statue of Bacchus. But in a different part of the forum, there is a statue of Apollo Carnias, a temple of Ammon, and a brazen statue of Æsculapius. The temple itself is without a roof; and together with this temple, there is a fountain sacred to the god, a holy temple of Ceres, and a statue of Neptune Gæauchus. But that person who is called by the Gytheatæ old, and is said to dwell in the sea, is, I find, no other than Nereus: and Homer in his Iliad, in the following speech of Thetis, gave rise to this appellation:

> "Within the spacious bosom of the sea
> Ye Nereids now withdraw! and there attend
> The *old marine*, and mansion of our Sire."

In this region, too, there are gates, which they call the

Castorides: and in the tower there is a temple and statue of Minerva.

CHAPTER XXII.

From Gytheum, at about the distance of three stadia, there is a stone which they call *Sluggish*. They report, that Orestes was cured of his insanity by sitting on this stone: and on this account the stone is called Jupiter Cappotes in the Doric tongue. But the island Cranae is situated opposite to Gytheum, in which place, according to Homer, Paris who carried away Helen first slept with her. Near this island, too, in the continent, there is a temple of Venus Migonitis, and the whole place is called Migonium. They report, that this temple was raised by Paris. But Menelaus having returned safe home, in the eighth year after the destruction of Troy, dedicated near the temple of Venus Migonitis, a statue of Thetis and of the goddess *Praxidica*, or the *Avenger*. There is a mountain, too, sacred to Bacchus, above Migonium, which they call Larysium: and in this place, when the spring commences, they celebrate a festival to Bacchus; assigning, among other causes of the sacred institution, the discovery of a ripe grape on this mountain. But on the left hand of Gytheum, and at the distance of about thirty stadia, you will see in the continent the walls of Trinasus. The place, however, appears to me to have been formerly a castle, and not a town: and I am of opinion, that its name was derived from the three small islands opposite to the shore.

At about the distance, too, of eighty stadia from Trinasus, the ruins of Helos still remain: and thirty stadia from hence, the city Acriæ is situated near the sea. In this place there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, and a

statue of stone, which deserve to be inspected. The inhabitants of Acriæ assert, that this is the most ancient of all the works among the Peloponnesians, which are dedicated to the Mother of the Gods. For the Magnesii who inhabit that part of Sipylus which is near the north, upon a stone which they call Coddinus, have a statue of the Mother of the Gods the most ancient of all; and they report that this was made by Broteas the son of Tantalus. But there was a man among the Acriatæ, whose name was Nicocles Olympionice, who was twice victor in the course, and five times in the chariot-race: and there is a monument raised to him, between the gymnasium and that part of the walls which joins to the port. Above Acriæ, too, at the distance of about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea, is the city Geronthræ, which was subverted by the Dorienses who possessed Lacedæmon, and was inhabited by them prior to the arrival of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. The Dorienses, too, after having expelled the ancient inhabitants, introduced a colony of their own. At present, however, this city is a part of the dominions of the Eleutherolacones.

But, in the way which leads from Acriæ to Geronthræ, there is a town which is called *Ancient*. In Geronthræ, too, there is a temple, and a grove of Mars. Every year they celebrate a festival to the god, during which women are forbidden to enter the grove. About the forum there are fountains of sweet water: and in the tower there is a temple of Apollo, and an ivory head of the statue of the god; for the fire has consumed the other parts of the statue, together with the former temple. But Marios, another town of the Eleutherolacones, is distant from Geronthræ about one hundred stadia. In this place there is an ancient temple common to all the gods: and about it there is a grove watered with fountains. There are fountains, too, in the temple of Diana; and Marios is remarkable for the

water with which it abounds. But there is a town called Glyppia above Marios, and which is situated in the most interior part of the country: and there is a way of twenty stadia in length which leads to another town of Geronthræ, called Selinuntes. And such are the places which have a more interior situation, as you ascend from Acreæ to the continent.

Again, with respect to the places near the sea, the city Asopus is distant from Acriæ about sixty stadia. In this city there is a temple of the Roman emperors; and above the city, at the distance of twelve stadia, there is a temple of Æsculapius. They denominate the god Philolaus, or a lover of the people: and the bones which are honoured in the gymnasium, though of a surpassing magnitude, are nevertheless the bones of a man. In the tower, too, there is a temple of Minerva Cyparissia: and towards the bottom part of the tower there are ruins of a city, which is called the Achaian Paracyparissiæ. Besides, in this country there is a temple of Æsculapius, which is about fifty stadia distant from Asopus: and the place in which this temple is contained is called Hyperteleaton. But a promontory, which is distant from Asopus about two hundred stadia, extends itself into the sea, and is called *the jaw-bone of an ass.* This promontory contains a temple of Minerva, which is without a statue and a roof, and is said to have been made by Agamemnon. There is also a monument here of Cinadus, who was the pilot of Menelaus.

But after this promontory, that which is called the Bœatic bay pours itself forth: and the city Bœæ is situated towards the extremity of this bay. It was built by Bœus, one of the sons of Hercules, who brought a colony into it from the three cities Etis, Aphrodisias, and Sida. They report, that Æneas, while he was flying to Italy, being shipwrecked by a storm, built two of these ancient cities, one of which he called by the name of the daughter of

Etias; and the third city, as they say, was denominated from Side the daughter of Danaus. The exiles from these cities, inquiring where it would be proper for them to fix their habitation, received for answer, that Diana would show them where they should build a city. After this a hare started forth to their view, which they followed as a guide; and she hiding herself in a myrtle, they built a city in the very place where the myrtle grew, and even at present venerate this tree, and call Diana the *Saviour*. But there is a temple of Apollo in the forum of the Bœensians: and the ruins of the temples of Serapis and Isis are about seven stadia distant from Bœæ. On directing your course to these ruins, you will see on the left hand a stone statue of Mercury: and among the ruins you may perceive a temple of Æsculapius and Health.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Cythera is situated opposite to Bœæ: and the distance by sea from that promontory which, as we have observed, is called *the jaw-bone of an ass*, and the promontory Platanistus, is about forty stadia; for in this part the island is at the least distance from the continent. But in Cythera there is a haven called Scandea, in the parts by the sea: and the city Cythera is distant from this haven about ten stadia. This place contains a most holy temple of Venus Urania, or the *Celestial*, which is the most ancient and sacred of all those which are dedicated by the Greeks to Venus: and the statue of the goddess is armed. But on sailing from Bœæ to those places which are above the promontory Malea, you may perceive a lake, which they call Nymbœum: and near this there is a statue of Neptune in an upright position, and a cavern near the sea, in which

there is a fountain of sweet water. This place is much inhabited. After you have sailed by the promontory Malea, at about the distance of one hundred stadia, there is a place in the borders of the Bœatæ, and in it a temple of Apollo, whom they call Epidelium: for the statue of Apollo which remains at present was formerly dedicated at Delos. For at that time when Delos was the emporium of all Greece, and by its religious veneration of divinity had obtained perfect security, Menophanes, who led the forces of Mithridates, either from his own natural insolence, or impelled by Mithridates (for a man wholly given to gain will consider divine concerns as subordinate to wealth); this Menophanes, then, with a fleet of three-oared galleys, invaded the island when it was destitute both of walls and arms. In consequence of this, he easily conquered the city, and slew both the foreigners that dwelt there at that time and the Delians themselves. He likewise plundered the wealth of the merchants and the offerings suspended in temples, enslaved the women and children, and overturned Delos from its foundations.

In the eagerness, too, of their depredations, one of these Barbarians insolently threw this image of Apollo into the sea; and the waves rolling it into these borders of the Bœatæ, occasioned the place to be called Epidelium. However, neither Menophanes nor Mithridates could escape the anger of the god. For, after the subversion of Delos, as Menophanes was returning home by sea, his ships were attacked by the merchants whom he had plundered, and he himself was slain by them: and the god compelled Mithridates to destroy himself, in consequence of losing his kingdom and being driven about every where by the Romans. There are some, too, who report, that he procured one of the Barbarians, for a sum of money as a reward, to slay him. And such was the punishment which these men suffered for their impiety.

But Epidaurus, which is called Limera, borders on the Bœatæ, and is distant from Epidelium about two hundred stadia. They report, however, that this place is not a colony of the Lacedæmonians, but of those Epidaurians that dwell in Argolis. For when the ambassadors, who were publicly sent by the Epidaurians into the island Coos to Æsculapius, landed in this part of the Laconic region, in consequence of certain admonitions in a dream, they made this the place of their abode. They farther report, too, that the dragon, which they had brought with them from Epidaurus, fled from the ship, and concealed itself in a cavern not far from the sea; and that, in consequence of this prodigy and certain visions in a dream, it appeared to them that they ought to fix their habitation in this place. But where the dragon descended, altars to Æsculapius are erected; and wild olive-trees grow round the altars.

Again, on proceeding to the right hand, to the distance of about two stadia, you will perceive the water of Ino, as it is called. The circumference of this lake is but small, but its depth is considerable. Into this water, during the festival of Ino, they cast baked cakes, which if the water retains, they consider it as a fortunate omen to the person who threw them into the lake; but the contrary if the water sends them back again. The bowls or cups of mount Ætna, too, are said to possess the same prophetic power: for they throw into these, things wrought from gold and silver, and sacred offerings of every kind, which if the fire absorbs, they rejoice as in a fortunate circumstance; but if it rejects them, they consider it as an ill omen to the person by whom they were thrown. But near the way which leads from Bœæ to Limera Epidaurus, there is a temple of Diana Limnatis in the borders of the Epidaurians. The city itself, however, presents itself to the view, not far from the sea, in an elevated place, and

contains the following particulars worthy of inspection: a temple of Venus, and a temple of Æsculapius, in which there is a stone statue in an upright position; a temple of Minerva, in the tower; and before the port, a temple of Jupiter, under the appellation of *the Saviour*. A promontory, too, called Minoa, near the city, extends as far as to the sea; and the bay, in this part, is in no respect different from the other irruptions of the sea, which take place about the Laconic region. But the shore in this part abounds with pebbles, which are both elegant in their figure, and beautiful for the variety of colours which they possess.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Zarax, too, is distant from Epidaurus about twenty stadia. This place has a harbour very well adapted to sailors, but, of all the cities of the Eleutherolacones, has been the most oppressed. For Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, and the grandson of Agesipolis, alone subverted this, of all the Laconic cities. Of this Cleonymus I shall speak in another part of this work. In Zara there is nothing remarkable; but in the extremity of the port there is a temple of Apollo, and a statue holding a harp. But on departing from hence towards the sea, to the distance of about six stadia, and returning from thence to the most inland parts, at the distance of ten stadia, the ruins of the Cyphantes (for so those people are called) present themselves to the view. Among these there is a temple of Æsculapius, with a stone statue. There is also a fountain of cold water, which leaps from a rock: and they report that Atalanta, being thirsty as she was hunting in this place, struck the rock with her spear, and thus caused the water to flow. The town Brasiæ, too, is situated in the extre-

mity of this part of the Eleutherolaconian dominions, near the sea; and is distant about two hundred stadia from Cyphantæ. The inhabitants of this place report things different from all the rest of the Greeks; and these are as follow:

Semele brought forth a son from Jupiter, and Cadmus, detecting the affair, threw Bacchus into a chest, which, being cast into the sea and tost about by the waves, was at length thrown on their coast. Here Semele, who died after her delivery, was magnificently buried; and Bacchus was taken care of, and educated. On this account their city, which till that time was called Oreatæ, by a mutation of name was denominated Brasiæ, and this from the ark being thrown on that coast. Just as even at present the vulgar say of any thing which is thrown by the sea on the land, that *it has been ejected by the waves of the sea.* The Brasiatæ, too, further add, that Ino during her wanderings came into their country, and that when she came there, she was willing to become the nurse of Bacchus. They show the cavern, too, where Ino nursed Bacchus, and call the plain which contains the cavern, the garden of Bacchus.

But of the temples in this place, one is sacred to Æsculapius, and the other to Achilles, to whom they every year celebrate a festival. There is likewise a small promontory in Brasiæ, which gradually extends itself to the sea; and on it brazen hats are placed, which are not larger than those which are worn on the head. I do not know whether they consider these as belonging to the Dioscuri, or to the Corybantes. There are, however, three hats; and with these there is a statue of Minerva. But on the right hand of Gytheum there is a place called Las, which is distant from the sea ten stadia, and forty from Gytheum. That part which lies between the three mountains, Ilius, Ama, and Cnacadius, is at present inhabited, though formerly

this city was situated on the top of mount Asia; and even now the ruins of the ancient city are to be seen; and before the walls there is a statue of Hercules and a trophy raised on account of the Macedonians, who were a part of the army of Philip when he invaded the Laconic region, and who, wandering from the rest of the army, laid waste the maritime part of the country.

Among these ruins there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Asia: and this they report was raised by Castor and Pollux, on their returning safe from the Colchian expedition; for there was a temple of Minerva Asia among the Colchians. I very well know, indeed, that the sons of Tyndarus partook of Jason's expedition; but that the Colchi worshipped Minerva Asia, I alone commit to writing from the report of the Lacedæmonians. But near the city, which is inhabited at present, there is a fountain which is called Cagaco, from the colour of the water: and near the fountain, there is a gymnasium, which contains an ancient statue of Mercury. With respect to the mountains, too, in that which is called Ilius there is a temple of Bacchus, and on its summit a temple of Æsculapius. But in the mountain Cnacadius there is a temple of Apollo Carneus. And a place called Hypsos, in the borders of the Spartans, is distant from Carneus about thirty stadia, and contains a temple of Æsculapius, and of Diana who is called Daphnæa. Near the sea, too, and in the promontory, there is a temple of Diana Dictynna, to whom they celebrate a festival every year.

But on the left hand of this promontory, the river Smenos pours itself into the sea, and affords a water remarkably sweet. The fountains of this river are in the mountain Taygetus, and it is distant from the city not more than five stadia. In a place, too, which is called Arainus, there is a sepulchre of Las, and a statue upon the sepulchre. They report that this town was built by Las, who

was slain by Achilles; and they add, that Achilles came to this place when he demanded of Tyndareus Helen in marriage. The truth of the case, however, is, that Las was slain by Patroclus, as he was one of the suitors of Helen. Indeed, that Achilles never desired Helen in marriage may be inferred from hence, that, in the *Catalogue of Women*, there is no mention of Achilles. But Homer in the beginning of his Iliad informs us, that Achilles came to Troy, merely from his regard to the children of Atreus, and not induced by the oaths of Tyndareus. The same poet, too, in describing the funeral games, introduces Antilochus asserting that Ulysses is older than him: and when Ulysses relates to Alcinous what he saw in Hades, he informs him, among other things, that he saw Pirithous and Theseus, who lived in an age prior to his. And we know, indeed, that Helen was forcibly taken away by Theseus; so that it cannot by any means be admitted that Achilles was one of the suitors of Helen.

CHAPTER XXV.

On proceeding from this monument you will perceive a river pouring itself into the sea, the name of which is Scyras. This river was formerly without a name, and was then first denominated, when Pyrrhus the son of Achilles entered into it with a fleet, as he was sailing from Scyros to the nuptials of Hermione. Beyond the river, too, there is an ancient temple, separate from the altar of Jupiter. And in the most inland parts, at the distance of forty stadia, you may perceive the town Pyrrhicus. According to some, this town was denominated from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles; but according to others, from the god Pyrrhicus, who is one of the Curetes. There are also some who.

assert, that Silenus, when he left Malea, dwelt in this place. And that Silenus, indeed, was brought up in Malea is evident, from the following verses of Pindar:

> Strenuous in the dance to beat
> Tuneful measures with his feet,
> Silenus, whom in Malea erst
> Nais' husband careful nurst.

But Pindar does not any where assert that Silenus was called Pyrrhicus, though this is reported by the inhabitants of Malea.

But in the forum of Pyrrhicus there is a well, which the inhabitants are of opinion was given to them by Silenus. If this well should ever be dried up, they would labour under a great scarcity of water. The Pyrrhicii have in their land a temple of Diana Astratea, who came to be so denominated because the army of the Amazons stopped its march in this place. There is also a temple of Amazonian Apollo. Both the statues are of wood; and are said to have been dedicated by the women that came from Thermodon. But on descending from Pyrrhicus to the sea, you will arrive at the town Teuthrone. The inhabitants report, that this town was built by the Athenian Teuthras; and they worship, above all the divinities, Diana Isoria. They have also a fountain called Naia. The promontory Tænarum, too, extends into the sea, at the distance of one hundred and fifty stadia from Teuthrone; and beneath it are the ports Achilleus and Psamathus. But in the promontory there is a temple similar to a cavern; and before it is a statue of Neptune. Some of the Greeks relate, in their verses, that Hercules drew up through this the dog of Pluto, though the cavern has not any subterranean passage; nor is it very easy to be persuaded, that there is a certain subterranean habitation of the gods, into which souls are collected.

Hecatæus, indeed, the Milesian, asserts with great probability, that a dreadful serpent was nourished in this cavern, and that he was called the dog of Pluto, because the venom of his bite was always productive of death. He adds, that Hercules drew up this serpent by the command of Eurystheus. But Homer, who first called that which Hercules drew up the dog of Hades, neither calls this animal by any name, nor does he feign any thing concerning his figure, as he does concerning the Chimæra. But writers posterior to Homer have called this animal Cerberus; and assimilating his other parts to those of a dog, have asserted that he had three heads. Homer, however, by the dog of Hades may be supposed to signify an animal not more familiar to the human species than a dragon.

But there are other sacred offerings in Tænarum, and Arion, the harper, sitting on a Dolphin. And the particulars respecting Arion and the dolphin Herodotus relates, as what he himself heard, in his account of the Lydian affairs. I, indeed, have seen in Parosebene a dolphin, who was the cause of safety to a boy, because he healed him of a wound which he had received from the fishermen, and who would attend on the boy when he called him, and carry him on his back wherever he pleased. There is also in Tænarum a fountain which does not contain any thing wonderful to behold at present, but which formerly, as they report, afforded the prospect of ports and ships to those who looked within it. This effect of the water was destroyed by a woman washing in it a polluted garment. On sailing from this promontory to the distance of about forty stadia, you will arrive at the town Cænepolis, which was formerly called Tænarum. In this town there is a temple of Ceres, and near the sea a temple of Venus, which contains a statue in an upright position. On departing from hence to the distance of thirty stadia,

you will see the vertex of Tænarum, which is called Thyrides, and the ruins of the city Hippola, among which there is a temple of Minerva Hippolaitis. The city Messa, and a port, are at a little distance from hence: and there are about one hundred and fifty stadia between this port and Oetylum. But the hero, from whom this city was denominated, was an Argive, and was the son of Amphianax, and the grandson of Antimachus. There is a temple, too, in Oetylum, which deserves to be inspected; and in the forum a statue of Carnean Apollo.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Again, from Oetylum to Thalamæ there is a road of nearly eighty stadia in length. In this road there is a temple and oracle of Ino; and prophecies are delivered here in sleep; for the goddess answers such as consult her by dreams. But there are brazen statues in that part of the temple which stands in the open air, one of Paphia, and another of the Sun. That which is contained, however, in the inward part of the temple cannot be clearly seen, on account of the crowns which conceal it; though it is reported to be made of brass. But a water flows here from a sacred fountain, which is pleasant to drink, and which they call the water of the moon. Paphia, indeed, is not the native divinity of the Thalamatæ. A maritime city, too, called Pephnos, is distant about twenty stadia from Thalamæ. A small island is adjacent to this place, which is not larger than a great stone. This also is called Pephnos; and the Thalamatæ report, that the Dioscuri were born in this place. Indeed I know that Alcman asserts this in his verses. The Thalamatæ, however, do not assert that the Dioscuri were educated in Pephnos, but

that they were brought to Pellana by Mercury. In this island there are brazen statues of the Dioscuri, in the open air, which are not more than a foot in length: and these statues are not moved out of their place, though the sea, during the winter, vehemently shakes the stone on which they stand. This indeed is a prodigy: nor is this less, that the ants here appear to be whiter than the usual colour of these insects.

The Messenians report, that this island formerly belonged to them: and on this account, they are of opinion that the Dioscuri belong to them rather than to the Lacedæmonians. But Leuctra is distant from Pephnos about twenty stadia. And with respect to the name of this city, I am ignorant of its origin; though, if it was denominated from Leucippus the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it appears to me that this is the reason why they reverence Æsculapius more than all the other gods, as they are of opinion that he was the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. There is a stone statue of Æsculapius here, and in a different part, of Ino. There is also a temple of Cassandra the daughter of Priam; a statue which is called Alexandra by the natives; and statues of Apollo Carneus, who is honoured by these people in the same manner as by the Lacedæmonians in Sparta. In the tower, too, there is a temple and statue of Minerva: and the Leuctrians have a temple and grove of Love, through which water flows in the winter. But the leaves which fall from the trees are not carried to any other place by the inundation of the water. I shall, too, relate what I am certain happened in my time, in the maritime part of Leuctra. The wind having driven a fire into the wood, burnt a great number of the trees; and in that part which was laid bare by the fire, a statue of Ithomatas Jupiter was found, placed like a dedicated statue. The Messenians make use of this circumstance as an evidence that

Leuctra formerly belonged to them. It is, however, possible, that the Lacedæmonians might from the first have inhabited Leuctra, and that they might have worshipped Jupiter Ithomatas.

Cardamyle, indeed, which is mentioned by Homer in his enumeration of Agamemnon's gifts, is in subjection to the Lacedæmonians of Sparta; Augustus Cæsar having separated this place from Messenia. But Cardamyle is distant from the sea eight stadia, and from Leuctra sixty. In this place, not far from the shore, there is a grove sacred to the daughters of Nereus, into which, they report, these Nymphs ascended from the sea, in order to behold Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, as he was on his journey to Sparta in order to marry Hermione. In the town itself there is a temple of Minerva, and a statue of Apollo Carneus, which they venerate after the manner of the Dorienses. But the city, which Homer calls Enope, is of Messenian denomination, and serves as a place of convention to the Eleutherolacones; but is at present called Gerenia. According to some, Nestor was educated in this city; but, according to others, he fled hither when Pylos was taken by Hercules. Here, viz. in Gerenia, there is a monument of Machaon the son of Æsculapius, and a holy temple raised to him: for they are of opinion that the remedies of human diseases were discovered by Machaon.

The sacred place, in which this temple stands, is called Rhodos: and the statue of Machaon is of brass, and in an upright position. His head, too, is adorned with a crown which the Messenians in their native tongue call Ciphos. The author of the poem called *the small Iliad*, asserts that Machaon was slain by Eurypylus the son of Telephus: and hence, as I well know, in the sacred rites belonging to Æsculapius in Pergamus, the hymns, indeed, begin from Telephus, but by no means celebrate Eurypylus; nor is he even mentioned in the temple, because they know that he

slew Machaon. The bones, too, of Machaon are said to have been preserved by Nestor: but they report that Podalirius, when he returned home after the destruction of Troy, was driven by a tempest to Syros, which is a city in the continent of Caria, and there fixed his habitation. But there is a mountain in Gerania, and in it a temple of Calathaia. There is a cave, too, near the temple, the entrance into which is narrow, but its inward parts contain things which deserve to be inspected. And as you proceed from Gerania, as if ascending to the most inland parts, you will arrive at Alagonia, which is a town about thirty stadia distant from hence. This town is numbered among the places belonging to the Eleutherolacones, and contains temples of Bacchus and Diana, which are worthy

BOOK IV.

MESSENICS.

CHAPTER I.

THE dominions of the Messenians are limited by Augustus Cæsar to that space which lies between the land belonging to the Lacones and Gerania; and this thicket is at present called Choerius. The first inhabitants are reported to have taken possession of this country when it was a desert, in the following manner: After the death of Lelex, who reigned in that part of Greece which is now called Laconia, but was then from him denominated Lelegia, Myles, who was his eldest son, obtained the government; but Polycaon, who was the youngest of his sons, and on this account was nothing more than a private person, continued in this obscure condition till he married the Argive Messene, who was the daughter of Triopas, and the grand-daughter of Phorbas. But Messene being elevated through her father's dignity and power, who at that time surpassed in these the other Greeks, could not endure that her husband should be a private man. Hence, collecting together a band of Argives and Lacedæmonians, Polycaon invaded this country, and called the whole region Messene, after the name of his wife. He also founded other cities, and among these Andania, which he made the royal city. For before the Thebans fought with the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, and had built Messene, which is at present situated under Ithome, it does not appear to

me that any city was called Messene. I conjecture this from the verses of Homer. For, in his catalogue of those that came to Troy, he mentions Pylos, Arene, and some others; but is silent with respect to a city of the name of Messene. In the Odyssey, too, he evinces that the Messenians were a people, but not of one city:

> "Messena's state from Ithaca detains
> Three hundred sheep, and all the shepherd swains."

And still more clearly when he speaks of the bow of Iphitus:

> "This gift, when on Messena's shores he trode,
> On young Ulysses Iphitus bestow'd:
> Beneath Ortilochus's roof they met;——"

For he signifies, by the house of Ortilochus, a small town in Pheræ: and this he explains in the place where he speaks of Pisistratus meeting with Menelaus:

> "To Pheræ now, Diocleus' stately seat,
> (Ortilochus's son) the youths retreat."

Polycaon, therefore, the son of Lelex, and his wife Messene, were the first that reigned in this country. But Caucon, the son of Celainus and the grandson of Phlyus, brought hither from Eleusis the orgies of *the Great Goddesses*. The Athenians report, that this Phlyus was the son of Earth; and this is confirmed by the hymn of Musæus to Ceres, which he composed for the Lycomedæ. But Lycus the son of Pandion, many years afterwards, increased the reputation of the mysteries of the Great Goddesses; and they even at present call the place where the mysteries are purified, the grove of Lycus. Indeed, that in this country there is a place which is called the grove of Lycus, is evident from this verse of the Cretan Rhianus:

> "With rough Elæus, and beyond *the grove*
> *Of Lycus.*"——

But that this Lycus was the son of Pandion, is evident from the verses which were composed on the image of Methapus: for Methapus was an Athenian, and was the author of mysteries and all-various orgies. The same person, too, instituted for the Thebans the mysteries of the Cabiri; and near an enclosure belonging to the Lycomedæ dedicated an image with an inscription. This inscription, which is as follows, both asserts other things, and strengthens the credibility of my relation: "I have purified the abodes and paths of Hermes the father, and of the first-born virgin; for here Caucon, sprung from the illustrious race of Phlyus, established in Messene contests sacred to the Great Goddesses. But it is a wonderful circumstance, that Lycus the son of Pandion should establish the sacred works of Attis in the venerable Andania." This inscription, therefore, testifies that Caucon, who was the grandson of Phlyus, came to Messene: it likewise mentions other things respecting Lycus; and that the ancient mysteries were celebrated in Andania. And, indeed, it appears to me probable, that both Messene and Polycaon were willing to establish the mysteries in that city, which they fixed upon as the place of their abode.

CHAPTER II.

INDEED, I have endeavoured by diligent inquiry to learn who were the children of Polycaon and Messene; and, for this purpose, I have perused the writings which are called *the Great Eoeæ*, the Naupactian verses, and all that Cinæthon and Asius have genealogised in verse, but without obtaining any information in this particular. For though the Great Eoeæ assert, that Polycaon the son of Butes was married to Euæchme the daughter of Hyllus (the son of Hercules), yet they make no mention either of

a man of Messene, or of Messene herself. But in after-times, when five ages were elapsed, as it appears to me, and not more, and none of the posterity of Polycaon remained, the Messenians say, that Perieres the son of Æolus was called to the government; and that Melaneus, who was a skilful archer, and who on this account was believed to be the offspring of Apollo, came to Perieres, who bestowed on him that part of the country which is now called Carnasius, but was then denominated Œchalia from the wife of Melaneus. The Thessalians, however, and Eubœenses (for most of the Grecian affairs are involved in doubt) disagree so much in their relation, that, according to some of these, Eurytium, which is at present a solitary place, was called in ancient times Œchalia; and Creophylus, in his Heraclea, agrees with this account of the Eubœenses. But Hecateus the Milesian writes that Œchalia is in Scium, a part of Eretria.

The Messenians, however, appear to me both in other respects to speak more probably on this affair, and particularly about the bones of Eurytus, which we shall afterwards relate. But Aphareus and Leucippus were the offspring of Perieres, by Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus. These, after the death of Perieres, reigned over the Messenians; though Aphareus was the most absolute of the two. While he reigned, he built the city Arene, and called it after the daughter of Œbalus, who was both his wife and sister from one and the same mother. For Gorgophone was married to Œbalus: and, indeed, we have twice already mentioned this circumstance, in our account of the Argolic and Laconic affairs. Aphareus, therefore, built the city Arene in Messenia, and received into his house Neleus the son of Crotheus and the grandson of Æolus (who was called Neptune), who was his cousin, when he fled from Pelias at Iolcus; and gave him the maritime part of the land, which contained Pylos,

among other cities, and which Neleus made the place of his royal abode. Lycus also, the son of Pandion, came to Arene, at the time when he fled from his brother Ægeus at Athens; and delivered the orgies of the Great Goddesses to Aphareus and his children, and to his wife Arene; evincing to them, at the same time, that Caucon had initiated Messene in Andania.

The eldest, too, and the bravest of the children of Aphareus was Idas, the youngest Lynceus, whose sight, if we may believe Pindar, was so acute that he could see through the trunks of trees. I am not certain whether this Lynceus had any children; but Idas had a daughter, Cleopatra, from Marpessa the wife of Meleager; though the author of the Cyprian verses asserts, that the wife of that Protesilaus, who when the Greeks sailed to Troy was the first that dared to land, was Polydora, the daughter of Meleager and the grand-daughter of Œneus. If this account, therefore be true, three women, beginning from Marpessa, cut their own throats after the death of their husbands.

CHAPTER III.

But after the children of Aphareus fought with their cousins the Dioscuri, for the oxen, and Pollux had slain Lynceus, but Idas was destroyed by thunder; the house of Aphareus was totally destitute of male offspring, and the government of the Messenians devolved on Nestor the son of Neleus, together with dominion over all such places as Idas formerly governed, except such lands as were in subjection to the children of Æsculapius. For they report, that the sons of Æsculapius came from Messenia to the siege of Troy; as Æsculapius was the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus, and not of Coronis. And, indeed,

they call a certain solitary place in Messenia, Tricca; and repeat some verses of Homer, in which Nestor consoles Machaon when he was wounded with a dart. For, say they, he would not have bestowed so much kindness on him unless he had been his neighbour, and a king of a kindred race. These reports, too, about the children of Æsculapius, are confirmed from hence, that there is a monument of Machaon at Gerania, and a temple of the children of Machaon at Pheræ. But when the Trojan war was finished, and Nestor, after returning home, had ended his days; the military expedition of the Dorienses and the descent of the Heraclidæ taking place two generations afterwards, the posterity of Neleus were ejected from Messenia. And such are the particulars respecting Tisamenus which I have added to the present relation.

This, however, remains still to be added: When the Dorienses assigned Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes requested of them Messenia for himself, as he was older than Aristodemus; for Aristodemus died prior to his making this request. But Theras the son of Autesion opposed Cresphontes in the highest degree: and this Theras was the grandson of the grandson of Polynices the son of Œdipus, and at that time was guardian to the sons of Aristodemus, as he was their uncle on the mother's side; for Aristodemus married the daughter of Autesion, whose name was Argia. But Cresphontes, who wished for the possession of Messenia, requested of Temenus that he would cast lots about this affair. In consequence of this, Temenus threw the lots in a water-pot, after he had filled it with water, but in such a manner that whichever lot was drawn first, Messenia might be his portion. But in order to accomplish this, he fraudulently made the lot of the children of Aristodemus of potter's clay, dried in the sun, and of Cresphontes of baked tile. Hence the lot of the children of Aristodemus wasted away, but that of

Cresphontes remained firm; and, through this stratagem, Cresphontes obtained Messenia.

But the ancient Messenians were not expelled from their kingdom by the Dorienses; for they willingly obeyed their new king Cresphontes, and gave the Dorienses a part of their land. They were induced, too, to yield this obedience, in consequence of having suspected the former kings, because they were descended from the race of Iolcus. Cresphontes, too, married Merope the daughter of Cypselus, who then reigned over the Arcadians, by whom he had other sons, and Æpytus, who was his youngest. And he built, indeed, in Stenyclerus a palace for himself and his children: for in ancient times other kings, and Perieres himself, dwelt in Andania. Aphareus, likewise, afterwards having fortified Arene, dwelt in it, together with his children. But the royal abode of Nestor and his children was Pylos. Lastly, Cresphontes made Stenyclerus the royal city: and while he resided here he was slain, together with all his children except Æpytus, because he was more attached to the common people than to the rich; for Æpytus escaped, because he was but as yet a boy, and was under the guardianship of Cypselus, his grandfather on his mother's side. As soon, however, as Æpytus arrived at manhood, the Arcadians brought him to Messene, bringing with them at the same time the other kings of the Dorienses, the children of Aristodemus, and Simus the son of Temenus.

Æpytus, therefore, as soon as he had recovered his paternal kingdom, took vengeance on the murderers of his father, and on those who had been the authors of the deed. Afterwards, by flattering attentions, he conciliated to himself the good-will of the nobility; became a favourite of the common people by his gifts; and arrived at such a high degree of honour, that his posterity were called the Æpytidæ, instead of the Heraclidæ, which was

their former appellation. But Glaucus the son of Æpytus, who succeeded his father in the kingdom, imitated his father, indeed, in his behaviour to the noble and vulgar, but was much superior to him in piety to the gods. For when in the temple of Jupiter, on the summit of Ithome, no honours were paid to the god by the Dorienses, except by the familiars of Polycaon and Messene, Glaucus ordered that he should be venerated; was the first that sacrificed to Machaon, the son of Æsculapius, in Gerenia; and dedicated such gifts to Messene the daughter of Triopas, as are usually offered to heroes. Isthmius, too, the son of Glaucus, raised a temple in Pheræ to Gorgasus and Nichomachus. But Dotadas was the son of Isthmius, who, among other havens which he furnished in Messenia, built one in Mathone. Sybotas the son of Dotadas succeeded his father; and he made it a law, that kings should every year sacrifice to the river Pamisus, and that, prior to the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, which were then celebrated in Andania, they should perform funeral sacrifices to Eurytus the son of Melaneus.

CHAPTER IV.

Again, during the reign of Phintas the son of Sybotas, the Messenians, for the first time, sent a sacrifice to Apollo at Delos, with a choir of men. Eumelus taught them the song with which they celebrate the god, and which they call Prosodium. And these are the only verses which are reckoned the genuine progeny of Eumelus. But while this Phintas reigned, a disagreement, for the first time, took place between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, the occasion of which is doubtful, but which is said to have been produced as follows: Within the limits of Messenia

there was a temple of Diana Limnatis, which was alone common to the Messenians among the Dorienses, and to the Lacedæmonians. And the Lacedæmonians, indeed, assert, that the virgins which they sent to the festival were violated by the Messenians, and that their king Teleclus the son of Archelaus, the grandson of Agesilaus, and the great grandson of Doryssus, who was the son of Labotas, the grandson of Echistratus, and the great-grandson of Agis, was slain through endeavouring to prevent an injury from taking place. They add, that the violated virgins slew themselves through shame.

The Messenians, however, relate this affair differently: that stratagems were raised by Teleclus against those persons of quality that came to the temple in Messene. For when the Lacedæmonians, on account of the goodness of the land, desired to possess Messenia, Teleclus adorned the beardless youths after the manner of virgins, and so disposed them that they might suddenly attack the Lacedæmonians with their daggers as they were sitting. The Messenians, however, running to their assistance, slew both Teleclus and all the beardless youths. But the Lacedæmonians, as they were conscious that this action was perpetrated by public consent, never attempted to revenge the death of their king. And such are the reports of each party, which every one believes, just as he is influenced by his attachment to each. After this event had taken place, and when one generation had passed away, Alcamenes the son of Teleclus reigning in Lacedæmon, but of the other family Theopompus the son of Nicander, the grandson of Charillus, and the great-grandson of Polydectes, who was the son of Eunomus, the grandson of Prytanis, and the great-grandson of Eurypon; and Antiochus and Androcles reigning over the Messenians;—at this period, a hatred commenced between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians.

And the Lacedæmonians, indeed, began hostilities the first, in the following manner: Polychares was a Messenian, who in other respects was far from being obscure, and who rendered himself illustrious by obtaining the palm of victory in the Olympic games. For in the fourth Olympiad, when the Eleans had only one contest, that of the stadium, Polychares was victor. This man had many oxen, and as his own pastures were not sufficient to feed them, he gave them to be fed by a Spartan, whose name was Euæphnus, with the promise of the progeny of the cows as his reward. Euæphnus, therefore, was a man who preferred wealth to integrity, and whose manners were affable and alluring. Hence, he sold the oxen of Polychares to certain merchants who sailed to Laconia, and afterwards came to him, and told him that some robbers had made an incursion into his field, and, among other depredations, had taken away both the oxen and herdsmen. In the mean time, while he is thus deceiving Polychares, one of the herdsmen fled from the merchants, who, on his return, found Euæphnus with his master, and informed Polychares of the truth of the affair. Euæphnus, therefore, not being able to deny the charge, earnestly entreated both Polychares and his son to pardon him: for, as there are many things which compel human nature to act unjustly, among all these, the desire of gain is the most powerful.

Euæphnus, too, acquainted Polychares with the sum for which he had sold the oxen; and promised that he would refund the money if Polychares would send his son with him. When Euæphnus came therefore to Laconia, he committed an action much more impious than the former; for he slew the son of Polychares. And Polychares, who was violently moved by such a base action, as it was reasonable to suppose he would be, came to Lacedæmonia, to the kings and Ephori; and with excessive lamentations

bewailed the death of his son. He likewise explained to them, what injuries he had received from a man whom he had made his guest, and in whom he confided beyond all the Lacedæmonians. However, when by a repetition of his grievances he obtained no satisfaction, and no punishment was inflicted on Euæphnus, he became insane, and giving way to his anger, as one who no longer regarded his own safety, had the boldness to slay every Lacedæmonian that he met with. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, report, that this war originated both on account of the murder of Teleclus, and Polychares not being given up to them; and still prior to these two reasons, on account of their being suspected by the Messenians for the fraud of Cresphontes, in drawing lots.

CHAPTER V.

The Messenians, however, report just the contrary concerning Teleclus, to what I have related; and evince that Æpytus the son of Cresphontes was restored by the sons of Aristodemus, which could not have taken place if there had been any disagreement between them and Cresphontes. They further add, that Polychares was not given up to the Lacedæmonians to be punished, because the Lacedæmonians would not deliver up Euæphnus: that nevertheless they were willing that sentence should be passed, either by them, or by the Argives, who were allied to both cities, or by a council of Amphictyons: that they were even willing to commit the affair to the judgment of the Areopagites, because the Areopagus appeared from ancient times to have judged affairs respecting murder. They likewise assert, that the Lacedæmonians did not engage in war on this account, but that, in consequence of their immoderate desire of dominion, they wished to oppress

other Grecian cities, as well as theirs. As an example, too, they adduce the Arcadians and Argives, whose dominions the Spartans continually infested. That, besides this, the Spartans being ensnared by the gifts of Crœsus, were the first of the Greeks that entered into an alliance with the Barbarians; at which time, indeed, Crœsus enslaved both the Greeks that dwelt in Asia, and the Dorienses that dwelt in Caria, on the continent. They add, that when the temple of Apollo at Delphos was plundered by the Phocensian leaders, the Spartan kings and nobles not only privately partook of this sacrilege, but publicly the chief of the Ephori and the senate. And lastly, they adduce this as a proof beyond every thing, that the Lacedæmonians never refused any undertaking for the sake of gain, that they chose, for their associate in war, Apollodorus, who tyrannized in Cassandra.

Why, indeed, the Messenians consider this last action as so very disgraceful, it is not my business at present to investigate; for neither the warlike ardour of the Messenians alone, nor the length of the war destroyed the tyranny of Apollodorus; and yet the calamities which the Cassandrenses sustained from their tyrant, were not much inferior to the evils of the Messenians. And such, according to each nation, were the causes of the war. But when the injuries which we have already related took place, ambassadors came from the Lacedæmonians to the Messenians, desiring them to give up Polychares. The kings of the Messenians, however, answered the ambassadors, that they would consult the people about the affair, and would send an account of their decisions to Sparta. As soon, therefore, as the ambassadors departed, the people were assembled, whose opinions were very different on this occasion. For Androcles voted that Polychares should be given up, as one who had perpetrated actions impious and dire; but Antiochus opposed this for many reasons, and

for this among the rest; that it would be a most miserable circumstance if Polychares should suffer punishment before the eyes of Euæphnus; at the same time enumerating the quality and quantity of the things which he must necessarily endure. In the end, too, the contention became so great, that the partizans of Androcles and Antiochus took up arms against each other.

This battle, however, was of no long duration; for as the greater number were on the side of Antiochus, they slew both Androcles and the most illustrious of his partizans. Antiochus, therefore, now reigning alone, sent into Sparta, informing the Spartans that he had committed the affair to the decision of those judges whom we have already mentioned. But the Lacedæmonians are said to have returned no answer to the letters of the Messenians; and Antiochus dying not many months after, his son Euphaes succeeded to the government. The Lacedæmonians, however, neither announced war to the Messenians by a messenger, nor openly renounced their friendship; but making preparations as much as they were able in secret, took an oath, that they would not lay down their arms, neither by the length of the war (if it should happen to be much extended), nor by their losses, however great they might be, till they had taken Messenia. Having previously taken this oath, they marched out by night towards Amphea; appointing Alcamenes the son of Teleclus for their general. Amphea was a small city near the Laconic land, and in Messenia; was situated on a lofty hill, and had fountains of water in abundance. In other respects, too, this city seemed to be very well adapted as a receptacle for all the purposes of war.

The city, therefore, whose gates were open, and which was without guards, was taken without resistance by the Lacedæmonians, who slew the inhabitants, some of whom were yet in their bed-chambers; but others, as soon as

they perceived the calamity, fled suppliantly to the temples and altars of the gods, and a few only escaped the destruction. This was the first attack which the Lacedæmonians made on the Messenians; but the second was in the year of the ninth Olympiad, in which Xenodocus the Messenian was victor in the stadium. At that time, too, the Athenians were not governed by annual magistrates chosen by lot; for the people at first took away much of the authority from the posterity of Melanthus, who were called Metontidæ, and instead of allowing them a kingly power, subjected them to the control of equitable laws; and afterwards limited their government to the extent of ten years. At the time, therefore, that Amphea was taken, the Athenian Æsimides the son of Æschylus was in the fifth year of his government.

CHAPTER VI.

But before I describe the particulars of this war, and what each party performed and suffered through the interference of a divine power, it will be proper to relate the transactions of Aristomenes the Messenian, and the order of time in which the events respecting him took place. For the war which happened between the Lacedæmonians and their allies, and the Messenians with their assistants, was not denominated from those that began the war, as was the case with the Persian and Peloponnesian war; but it was called Messenian from the slaughter which was made of the Messenians, just in the same manner as the war against Troy came to be called Trojan, and not Grecian. But Rhianus Benæus has celebrated this Messenic war in verse, and Myron Prienensis in prose: neither of these, however, has related all the events of the war, in a

continued series from beginning to end; but each has confined himself to a particular part. And Myron, indeed, begins from the capture of Amphea, and describes all that happened to the death of Aristomenes: but Rhianus does not touch upon this beginning of the war, but only relates the transactions which took place after the revolt from the Lacedæmonians. He does not, however, relate the whole of these particulars, but only the events posterior to the battle at the *great moat*, and the particulars respecting Aristomenes the Messenian, for whose sake I have made mention of Rhianus and Myron, as one who dignified the name of Messenian before any other person, and in the most eminent degree.

Myron Prienensis, therefore, has inserted this man in his history: but in the verses of Rhianus, Aristomenes is no less celebrated than Achilles in Homer's Iliad. Hence, as there is such a difference in the narration of these writers, it remains that I should reject the account given by one of them, but not the relation of both. Rhianus, indeed, appears to me to speak the most probably of the two, with respect to the age of Aristomenes: but Myron, as may be easily learnt from his writings, and especially from this account of the Messenian affairs, is by no means solicitous about speaking the truth, and relating things of a probable nature. For he asserts that Theopompus king of the Lacedæmonians was slain by Aristomenes, before the death of Aristodemus; though it is well known that Theopompus neither died in battle, nor by any other means, before the war was finished: and it was Theopompus himself that finished the war. But this is evinced by the elegies of Tyrtæus, in which he says:

> "King Theopompus, by the gods beloved,
> Captured Messene, form'd for ample choirs."[9]

Aristomenes, therefore, as it appears to me, flourished

in the war after this; and whose transactions we shall more accurately investigate in our relation of that war. But the Messenians, as soon as they knew that Amphea was taken, from the report of those that were saved from the devastation, met together from all their cities in Stenyclerus; and calling the people to their association, the best among them, in the first place, and afterwards the king himself, strengthened the minds of the vulgar, who were terrified at the destruction of Amphea, and exhorted them not to form a judgment of the event of the war from the adverse circumstance which had already taken place, nor suppose that the Lacedæmonians were better prepared for the war than themselves. They added, that warlike concerns had indeed been studied by the Lacedæmonians for a longer time; but that the present necessity would, to worthy men, be more powerful than superior skill. And lastly, that, by defending their country, their conduct would be more acceptable to the gods, than if they had commenced hostilities unjustly.

CHAPTER VII.

After Euphaes had thus addressed them, he dismissed the assembly, and put all the Messenians in arms: for he compelled those that were ignorant of warlike affairs to learn them, and confirmed the skill of veteran soldiers by continually exercising them in military arts. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians made incursions into the Messenian dominions, but without injuring the country, cutting down the trees, or demolishing the houses, because they considered the place as their own. They drove before them, however, whatever cattle they found, and carried away the corn and other fruit. They likewise besieged

some of their cities, but took none, as they were fortified with walls, and strongly secured; and after many fruitless efforts, they were compelled to retreat, much wounded, and at last desisted from attempting to take their cities. But now the Messenians in their turn laid waste the maritime parts of Laconia, and all the fields about Taygetus. And in the fourth year after the capture of Amphea, Euphaes, relying on the ardour of the Messenians, who were vehemently incensed with the Lacedæmonians, and at the same time believing that they were sufficiently skilled by continual exercise in military affairs, ordered them to begin their march, commanding at the same time the servants to follow, carrying with them wood, and every thing else necessary for forming a trench.

The Lacedæmonians, therefore, learning all this from the guards in Amphea, drew out their forces. There was a plain in Messenia, which was in other respects well adapted for an engagement, but was separated from the adjacent places by a very deep moat. In this plain Euphaes drew up his army, of which he appointed Cleonnis the general; but the horse and light-armed troops, each of which were less than five hundred, were led by Pytharatus and Antander. As soon, therefore, as the armies came to an engagement, the moat prevented the heavy-armed troops from encountering, who through hatred were eagerly tending towards each other; but the horse and the light-armed troops engaged with each other above the moat. These were equal both in number and skill; and on this account the battle between them was equal. In the mean time, while both parties were vigorously engaged, Euphaes ordered his servants to fortify, first of all, the back of his army with a trench, and afterwards both the sides. As soon as it was night, therefore, and the battle was dissolved, the front of his army was also secured with a trench, which when the Lacedæmonians perceived on the return of day,

they admired the providential care of Euphaes, and found that it would not be proper for them to fight with the Messenians, who could not be compelled to leave their fortifications, as they were totally unprepared to besiege them.

In consequence of this, the Lacedæmonians returned home, and, in the following year, after the old men had reviled the soldiers for their timidity and contempt of their oath, a second army was openly raised against the Messenians. This army was led by the two kings, Theopompus the son of Nicander, and Polydorus the son of Alcamenes; for Alcamenes himself died prior to this. The Messenians with their army opposed these; the Spartans beginning the fight. But Polydorus commanded the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, and Theopompus the right; and the middle part of the army was led by Euryleon, who was born indeed at Lacedæmon, but whose origin was from Cadmus and the Thebans; for he was the fifth grandson of Ægeus the son of Oiolycus, the grandson of Theras, and the great-grandson of Autesion. But of the Messenian army, Antander and Euphaes were opposed to the right wing of the Lacedæmonians; and Pytharatus stood opposite to the left wing, which was commanded by Polydorus. In the middle of the army stood Cleonnis.

When the two armies were now nearly coming to an engagement, the kings, advancing forward, exhorted their soldiers to behave valiantly on this occasion. And Theopompus, indeed, after the manner of the Lacedæmonians, urged his troops, in a short speech, to be mindful of the oath they had taken against the Messenians, and told them, that it would be both beautiful and honourable for them to eclipse by their actions the glory of their fathers, who enslaved their neighbouring cities; and that by behaving gallantly on the present occasion, they might add to their dominions a much happier region. But the speech of Euphaes was longer than that of the Spartan, though he,

spoke no more than what the time would permit. He told them, that the present contest was not alone for land and possessions, but that they very well knew what would be the condition of the vanquished:—that a defeat must be attended with the captivity of their wives and children; that the lightest punishment of their young men would be death, which might perhaps be accompanied with flagellation; that their temples would be plundered, and their country destroyed by fire. He added, that he did not speak of things which were nothing more than probable; but that the destruction of Amphea must convince all men of the reality of his assertions. That to die valiantly might be considered as gain, when compared with the endurance of such evils; and that it was much easier, while they were yet unconquered, and equally courageous with the enemy, to vanquish their adversaries by a vigorous resistance, than to labour in restoring their fallen fortune, when their courage was lost. And such was the speech of Euphaes.

CHAPTER VIII.

But as soon as the leaders of the two armies gave the signal of engagement, the Messenians rushed impetuously on the Lacedæmonians, as men whom anger compelled to give death to their enemies; and every one was anxious to be the first to begin the fight. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, cheerfully sustained the shock; and, at the same time, took care to preserve their ranks. As soon, however, as they drew nearer, they threatened each other with the motion of their arms; and this was accompanied with fierce looks and reviling language. The Lacedæmonians said, that the Messenians were their servants, and that they were in no respect more free than the Hilotes.

The Messenians, on the contrary, called the Lacedæmonians impious, as persons who, through an intemperate desire of dominion, attacked even their kindred, and acted in an irreligious manner towards the gods that were the guardians of the country of the Dorienses, and particularly towards Hercules. But when from reproaches they came to blows, they rushed on each other with collected might, and man fought hand to hand with man; but the charge of the Lacedæmonians was the most furious, who were superior both in the art of war and in number; for the neighbouring nations, who were in subjection to their authority, had followed them to this war. The Asinæi, too, and Dryopes, who were driven by the Argives, in the preceding age, from their dominions, and came to Lacedæmonia as suppliants, were now obliged to assist them in the war. But the Cretan archers, who were hired for this purpose, stood against the light-armed troops of the Messenians.

The Messenians, indeed, whose case, if they were conquered, must be desperate, and who were equally incited by a contempt of death, considered every thing they might endure, rather as something necessary to such as wished to render their country illustrious, than as any thing dire; and that the more vigorously they fought, the more difficult it would be for the Lacedæmonians to sustain their attacks. And, indeed, some of these, leaping beyond their ranks, gave proofs of illustrious daring; while in others, who were so dangerously wounded that they were ready to breathe their last, the vigour of an insane confidence was remarkably conspicuous. Neither were mutual exhortations wanting: for those that were yet alive, and without wounds, exhorted the wounded to call forth all their force, that they might meet death with pleasure, whenever they should arrive at the extremity of their fate; and again, those that were wounded, when they perceived

their strength beginning to fail them, and that they could not long survive, admonished those whose forces were as yet unimpaired, not to act in a manner unworthy of themselves, and not suffer their death to be entirely useless to the preservation of their country.

But the Lacædemonians, in the beginning of the engagement, neither mutually exhorted each other, nor gave such unexpected specimens of boldness as the Messenians: but, as they had been instructed in warlike concerns from their youth, they formed themselves into a deeper phalanx, and hoped that the Messenians would not be able to oppose them to the last, and endure the labour of arms, and the wounds which they would receive in the battle. And such were the circumstances peculiar to each army, as well with respect to the actions as the minds of the warriors: but this was common to both sides; that no one suppliantly implored the mercy of his conqueror, or promised large sums for his preservation; for each perhaps distrusted the mercy of his enemy, on account of his hatred; and that which was the principal circumstance, each was indignant that he had not been the cause of his enemy's death. Those likewise that slew their enemies, neither proudly boasted on the occasion, nor made use of bitter reproaches; for the hope of victory was not stronger on one side than on the other. A more illustrious death, too, befel those who attempted to take the spoils of any fallen warrior; who were pierced with darts in any naked part of their body; who fell unexpectedly, while their attention was directed to a different quarter; or who were slain by the yet breathing subjects of their plunder.

The kings themselves, too, fought in a manner which deserves to be celebrated. For Theopompus rushed upon Euphaes as if he meant to give him instant death; but Euphaes, perceiving him approaching, said to Antander:—There is no difference between the boldness of Theopom-

pus and his ancestor Polynices; for when Polynices led an army from Argos against his country, he slew his brother with his own hand, and was at the same time slain by him. He added, that Theopompus was willing to contaminate the posterity of Hercules with the same crime of parricide as defiled the family of Laius and Œdipus, though he will not depart very joyful from the engagement. After Euphaes had thus spoke, he also rushed upon his enemy. But upon this occasion, the battle which, in the place where they met, was before in a languid condition, was now again restored to its most flourishing state. The bodies of the warriors became invigorated; and the battle more fiercely raged, through the contempt of death which was now every where increased. Hence it seemed as if the engagement was but just then commenced; and at last, those that fought about Euphaes, and who were chosen men, becoming nearly insane, through their strenuous exertions drove Theopompus from his station, and put the Lacedæmonians to flight. The other wing, however, of the Messenians, was in a miserable situation; for Pytharatus the general being slain, the troops, that were now without a leader, became disordered, and lost all their confidence and vigour.

However, neither Polydorus pursued the flying Messenians, nor Euphaes the Lacedæmonians. For it appeared to Euphaes, and the principal persons that were about him, much better to stay, and give assistance to the vanquished troops. Yet they did not mingle themselves with Polydorus, or his band; for they were now involved in darkness through the night. This circumstance, too, restrained the Lacedæmonians from pursuing the flying Messenians, together with their ignorance of the places. Besides this, the discipline of their country restrained them: for they religiously observed the precept delivered by their ancestors, that they should be more anxious to

preserve their order, than to cut off a flying enemy. But in the middle of the battle, Euryleon on the side of the Lacedæmonians, and Cleonnis on that of the Messenians, fought with equal vigour and success. But the approach of night here likewise dissolved the contest. This battle was fought on both sides, for the most part, with the heavy-armed foot; for there were but few horse, and they performed nothing worthy of relation. At that time, indeed, the Peloponnesians were not skilled in horsemanship. But the naked archers of the Messenians, and the Cretans among the Lacedæmonians, did not engage at first, because each, after the manner of their ancestors, stood united with the foot. On the following day, as soon as it was light, neither army attempted to renew the battle, or to raise a trophy; but when the day was somewhat advanced, they were occupied in sending heralds about burying the dead; and when this was agreed to by each party, they immediately applied themselves to the business of interment.

CHAPTER IX.

After this battle the affairs of the Messenians were in a calamitous situation. For, in the first place, through the great sums of money which they had expended in fortifying their cities, they had no longer the means of supplying their army; in the next place, their slaves had fled to the Lacedæmonians; and lastly, a disease resembling a pestilence, though it did not infest all their country, yet greatly embarrassed their affairs. In consequence, therefore, of consulting about their present situation, they thought proper to abandon all those cities which had the most inland situation, and to betake themselves to the mountain Ithome. In this mountain there was a city of no

great magnitude, which, they say, is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue:

"And those that in the steep Ithome dwell."

In this city, therefore, fixing their residence, they enlarged the ancient enclosure, so that it might be sufficient to defend the whole of its inhabitants. This place was in other respects well fortified: for Ithome is not inferior to any of the mountains within the Isthmus in magnitude, and, besides this, is most difficult of access.

When they were settled in this mountain, they determined to send to Delphos, and consult the oracle concerning the event of the war. Tisis, therefore, the son of Alcis, was employed on this errand; a man who, in nobility of birth, was not inferior to any one, and who was particularly given to divination. This Tisis, on his return from Delphos, was attacked by a band of Lacedæmonians belonging to the guard in Amphea; but defended himself so valiantly, that they were not able to take him. It is certain, however, that they did not desist from wounding him, till a voice was heard, from an invisible cause, DISMISS THE BEARER OF THE ORACLE. And Tisis, indeed, as soon as he returned to his own people, repeated the oracle to the king, and not long after died of his wounds. But Euphaes, collecting the Messenians together, recited the oracle, which was as follows: "Sacrifice a pure virgin, who is allotted a descent from the blood of the Æpytidæ, to the infernal dæmons, by cutting her throat in the night: but if the virgin who is led to the altar descends from any other family, let her voluntarily offer herself to be sacrificed." Such, then, being the declaration of the god, immediately all the virgins descended from the Æpytidæ awaited the decision of lots: and when the lot fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus, the prophet Epebolus told them it was not proper she should be sacrificed, because she

was not the genuine daughter of Lyciscus; but that the wife of Lyciscus, in consequence of her barrenness, had falsely pretended that this was her daughter.

In the mean time, while the prophet was thus dissuading the people, Lyciscus privately took away the virgin, and fled to Sparta. But the Messenians being greatly dejected as soon as they perceived that Lyciscus had fled, Aristodemus, a man descended from the Æpytidæ, and who was most illustrious both in warlike concerns and other respects, offered his own daughter as a voluntary sacrifice. Destiny, however, no less absorbs the alacrity of mankind, than the mud of a river the pebbles which it contains. For the following circumstance became a hinderance to Aristodemus, who was then desirous of saving Messene by sacrificing his daughter: A Messenian citizen, whose name is not transmitted to us, happened to be in love with this daughter of Aristodemus, and was just on the point of making her his wife. This man, from the first, entered into a dispute with Aristodemus, asserting, that the virgin was no longer in the power of her father, as she had been promised to him in marriage, but that all authority over her belonged to him as her intended husband. However, finding that this plea was ineffectual, he made use of a shameful lie in order to accomplish his purpose, and affirmed, that he had lain with the girl, and that she was now with child by him. But in the end, Aristodemus was so exasperated by this lie, that he slew his daughter, and having cut open her womb, plainly evinced that she was not with child. Upon this, Epebolus, who was present, exhorted them to sacrifice the daughter of some other person, because the daughter of Aristodemus, in consequence of having been slain by her father in a rage, could not be the sacrifice to those dæmons which the oracle commanded. In consequence of the prophet thus addressing the people, they immediately rushed forth in order to slay the suitor of the

dead virgin, as he had been the means of Aristodemus becoming defiled with the blood of his offspring, and had rendered the hope of their preservation dubious. But this man was a particular friend of Euphaes; and in consequence of this, Euphaes persuaded the Messenians, that the oracle was accomplished in the death of the virgin, and that they ought to be satisfied with what Aristodemus had accomplished. All the Æpytidæ, therefore, were of the opinion of Euphaes, because each was anxious to be liberated from the fear of sacrificing his daughter. In consequence of this, the advice of the king was generally received, and the assembly dissolved. And after this they turned their attention to the sacrifices and festival of the gods.

CHAPTER X.

But the Lacedæmonians, on hearing the oracle given to the Messenians, were greatly dejected, and their kings became much less vigorous in their preparations for the war. At length, in the sixth year after the flight of Lyciscus from Ithome, the Lacedæmonians (as their sacrifices were auspicious) led an army to Ithome. The Cretans, however, were absent, and the allies of the Messenians were slow in coming to their assistance: for the Spartiatæ were suspected, as well by other Peloponnesians as by the Arcadians, and particularly by the Argives. And the Argives, indeed, were to have come secretly to the Lacedæmonians, from private, rather than public decree. But the expedition was openly announced to the Arcadians; though neither did these give their assistance. On the other hand, the report of the oracle induced the Messenians to try the event of the war, without the aid of their allies. In many respects, therefore, there was no differ-

ence between this and the former war. For the day deserted them before the battle was finished; but it is related that neither any wing, nor band of soldiers, was forced to fly: for they report, that the troops did not remain in the order in which they were placed at first; but that the best troops in either army were stationed in the middle, and that all the labour of the war was in this part. For Euphaes himself was more ardent in fight than was proper for a king, and, rushing with unrestrained fury on Theopompus, received many wounds, and among these some that were incurable. As he lay on the ground, therefore, ready to expire, the Lacedæmonians, while he still breathed a little, endeavoured to drag him to their army. But the benevolence which Euphaes had shown to the Messenians, and the disgrace which would attend them if they suffered his body to be taken by the enemy, roused them to the most vigorous exertions. Indeed it appeared to them to be much better to lose their lives than to survive the loss of their king.

The fall, therefore, of Euphaes, both lengthened the battle, and increased the courage of each army: and afterwards Euphaes, having recovered a little, perceived that his troops were not inferior to the enemy in fight. Not many days after, however, he died, having reigned over the Messenians thirteen years, and warred on the Lacedæmonians the whole time of his reign. But as Euphaes had no children, he left the kingdom to the arbitration of the people: and Cleonis and Damis contended for its possession with Aristodemus, considering themselves as superior to him both in other respects and the concerns of war. For Antander fell in the battle, through fighting in defence of Euphaes. Besides, the opinions of the two prophets, Epebolus and Ophioneus, opposed Aristodemus; as they did not think it right that the government should be conferred on a man polluted with the murder of a

daughter of Æpytus, and his posterity. Aristodemus, however, obtained the kingdom. But Ophioneus, a prophet of the Messenians, and who was blind from his birth, used to prophesy, by asking his consulters what they had done both privately and publicly, and thus foretel to them future events. Aristodemus, therefore, assuming the reins of government, was solicitously employed in rewarding the people according to their deserts, and raised Cleonnis and Damis to the highest honours. He likewise paid a sedulous attention to his allies, and sent gifts to the nobles of Arcadia, to Argos, and Sicyon. But in the war which was carried on in the reign of Aristodemus, there were very few depredations and incursions during the summer. The Messenians, indeed, in conjunction with the Arcadians, entered into the Laconic region; but the Argives never thought proper to come to open hostilities with the Lacedæmonians, but took care that, if they should ever fight against them, it might appear that they unwillingly assisted the Messenians.

CHAPTER XI.

In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, a junction of the Messenian forces took place in consequence of a prediction; for they were very much debilitated through the length of the war, and greatness of the expense with which it was attended. But the Corinthians alone, of all the Peloponnesians, assisted the Lacedæmonians: and the whole army of the Arcadians, together with chosen troops of Argives and Sicyonians, assisted the Messenians. The Hilotæ, therefore, and their neighbours, stood in the middle of the Spartan army. The kings took their station in the wings; and a phalanx more dense than ever was

adopted. Aristodemus, too, disposed his forces in the following manner: For such of the Arcadians or Messenians, whose bodies were more robust, and whose courage surpassed that of the rest, but whose arms were not strong —for these he chose the most useful arms, and when the occasion was urgent, placed them between the Argives and Sicyonians. He likewise very much expanded his phalanx that it might not be surrounded by the enemy; and took care that, when his forces were drawn up, they might have the mountain Ithome behind them. The command, too, of the heavy-armed troops he gave to Cleonnis, but he and Damis stood with the light-armed forces, among whom there were but few slingers and archers. The remaining part of the troops, both by the agility of their bodies, and the lightness of their arms, were adapted to the making of incursions and retreats, and for this purpose had nothing more than a coat of mail, or a shield.

Such among these, too, as were destitute of armour, were clothed with the skins of goats and sheep; some wore the skins of wild beasts; and the Arcadian mountaineers, in particular, were covered with the spoils of wolves and bears. Each person carried many darts, and some had lances; and this part of the inhabitants of Ithome was stationed where it could be least seen by the enemy. But the heavy-armed troops of the Messenians and their allies sustained the first attack of the Lacedæmonians, and after this gave proofs of a singular courage. These forces were, indeed, much inferior to the enemy in number, but being chosen men, they fought with a promiscuous multitude, who were not equally brave with themselves; and hence they easily resisted their attacks, through their alacrity and skill. Here, too, the well-girded troops of the Messenians, as soon as the signal of battle was given, rushed on the Lacedæmonians, aiming at their sides by hurling

their darts at a distance: and others of superior boldness came nearer, and fought hand to hand with the enemy.

But the Lacedæmonians, though they were a second time in a dangerous situation, and perceived that their affairs were at present without hope or redress, yet were not in the least disturbed, but betaking themselves to the light-armed troops of the Messenians, endeavoured to overthrow them. However, as these troops easily fled on account of their lightness, the Lacedæmonians were at first perplexed, and afterwards enraged. Such indeed is the condition of human nature, that men are unable to curb themselves, when any thing happens contrary to their deserts. Hence, those of the Lacedæmonians that were now wounded, and such as remaining in their ranks were exposed to the first incursions of the light-armed troops, ran before the rest, when they saw these troops rushing upon them, and, inflamed with anger, pursued them to a greater distance when they fled. But the light-armed troops of the Messenians, in the same manner as they first began, beat and transfixed with their darts those that kept their ranks, suddenly overturned those that pursued them, and assaulted them from behind, as they were returning to their own troops. And such was the form of the war, in the different parts of the army. In the meantime, the heavy-armed troops of the Messenians and their allies more boldly assaulted the Spartans that were opposite to their forces. And at last, the Lacedæmonians, being wearied with the length of the battle, and disordered by the unusual manner of fighting of the Messenian light-armed troops, broke their ranks. After this, turning their backs, the same troops molested them in a still greater degree. But the number of the Lacedæmonians that fell in this engagement cannot be ascertained; though I am persuaded it was very considerable. After this, when each person de-

parted to his proper place of abode, all but the Corinthians were suffered to return without molestation; for these were obliged to fight their way home, whether they passed through the Argive or Sicyonian dominions.

CHAPTER XII.

THE Lacedæmonians were greatly afflicted at the event of the war, and particularly that they had lost so many and such illustrious men. To this was added the loss of all hope of the war ending agreeably to their desire. Hence, they sent *spectators* to Delphos, to whom the Pythian deity gave the following oracle: "Phœbus persuades you, not only to apply yourselves to the works of war; but as the Messenian people obtained prey by fraud, they must be taken by the same arts as they employed in acquiring their present condition." The kings and the Ephori, therefore, after they had applied themselves to find out the meaning of the oracle, but without success, determined to imitate the achievement of Ulysses at Troy: for they sent one hundred men to Ithome as spies of the enemies designs; and that it might plainly appear they were banished, they were condemned by a public decree. But these men no sooner came to Aristodemus, than they were dismissed by him in the following words: "The injuries of the Lacedæmonians are recent; but their crafty devices are ancient." The Lacedæmonians, therefore, failing in their stratagem, endeavoured afterwards to prevent the Messenians from being assisted by their allies. However, as they were rejected by the Arcadians (for the ambassadors first came to these), they did not think proper to visit the Argives.

But Aristodemus, knowing the operations of the Lace-

dæmonians, sent likewise to ask advice of the god. And the Pythian deity gave him the following oracle: "The god gives thee the glory of the war! but take care lest the fraudful and hostile troops of Sparta become superior. For Mars shall possess their well-wrought arms, and the crowns of their choirs shall have severe inhabitants, in consequence of two persons emerging from the battle of a secret troop. Nor shall the sacred light of day behold this consummation of the fight, till the final destiny of these two shall be accomplished." Aristodemus, however, and the prophets, could not by any means detect the meaning of the oracle: but not many years after the god unfolded and accomplished his prediction. Other particulars, too, of the same kind at that time happened to the Messenians. After Lyciscus had migrated to Sparta, the daughter that attended him in his flight died; and as he often came to visit her tomb, some Arcadian horse took him by stratagem. But being led to Ithome, and brought before an assembly, he declared that his country had not been betrayed by him, but that he was induced to leave it, in consequence of the prophet asserting, that the virgin was not his legitimate daughter. After he had made this apology, his assertions were not credited, till a certain woman, who was at that time the priestess of Juno, came into the theatre, and voluntarily confessed, that the virgin was her daughter, and that she had imposed her on the wife of Lyciscus. I now, therefore, says she, come to unfold this secret affair, and to resign my office of priestess.

But the priestess spoke in this manner, because it was a law with the Messenians, that if any of the children of a priest or priestess died before their parents, then the office of priesthood should be transferred to other persons. As they believed, therefore, that the woman spoke truth, they chose another priestess for the goddess, and freed Lyciscus from the danger of death. After this they thought proper

(for it was now the twentieth year of the war), to send again to Delphos, in order to inquire which party would be victorious: and the Pythian deity gave them the following answer: "He who first places about the altar of Jupiter Ithomatas tripods twice five decads in number, shall with glory possess the Messenian land. For such is the will of Jupiter. But you must first employ stratagem, and revenge will follow: for you cannot deceive divinity. Act agreeably to the intention of the Fates. Now these, and then those, are oppressed by destiny." The Messenians, upon hearing this oracle, interpreted it as promising them the victory: for as they had a temple of Jupiter Ithomatas within their walls, it did not seem probable that the Lacedæmonians could dedicate the tripods before them. In consequence of this, they took care to make wooden tripods, as they had not money sufficient to make them of brass. This oracle was told to the Spartans by a certain person of Delphos.

But when the Spartans, by their public consultations, were not able to adopt any wise measures of conduct, a certain person of the name of Oebalus, who was not illustrious either for his birth or possessions, but was remarkable for his sagacity, as the event showed, made a hundred tripods of clay, and concealing them in a sack, took them together with a net, as if he had been a hunter. This man, as one who was even unknown to many of the Lacedæmonians, easily concealed himself among the Messenians; and mixing among the rustics of the country, came with them to Ithome as soon as it was night, dedicated to the god his tripods of clay, and returning again swiftly to Sparta, told the Lacedæmonians what he had done. But the Messenians, as soon as they discovered the affair, were greatly disturbed, and conjectured the truth, that this was accomplished by the Lacedæmonians. Aristodemus, however, calmed the afflicted minds of the Messenians,

both by such discourse as was suitable to the occasion, and by placing the wooden tripods, which were now made, round the altar of Jupiter. It happened, too, at that time, that the prophet Ophioneus, who was blind from his birth, was enabled to see, which was a circumstance of a most admirable nature: for he obtained the use of his eyes in consequence of a violent pain of the head, with which he was afflicted.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE god likewise gave other tokens of the approaching ruin of the Messenians. For the shield belonging to the brazen statue of Diana, whose arms were of brass, fell off of its own accord: and when Aristodemus was about to sacrifice to Jupiter Ithomatas, the rams spontaneously struck the altar with such force with their horns, that they died through the vehemence of the blow. And lastly, the dogs, assembling together in one place, howled every night, and at last went in a body to the army of the Lacedæmonians. These prodigies disturbed Aristodemus; and his terror was increased by the following nocturnal vision. He thought that, as he was departing for the battle, having previously armed himself for this purpose, he saw the entrails of the victims lying on the table, his daughter standing by him in a black garment, and showing the wounds in her belly and breast; and that afterwards throwing down the entrails from the table, and taking off his arms, she gave him a golden crown, and a white vestment. But while Aristodemus was dejected on other accounts, and particularly because he thought this dream portended his death, as the Messenians bury the most illustrious persons crowned, and wrapped in a white garment; some one told

him, that the prophet Ophioneus no longer saw, but that he had suddenly become blind again, as he was at first.

Upon this, the meaning of the oracle became perfectly apparent, and it was now evident, that by the two emerging from a secret troop, and being afterwards destroyed, Apollo signified the eyes of Ophioneus. Aristodemus, therefore, grieving for the condition of his domestic affairs, and perceiving that he had slain his daughter without any advantage, and that there was no hope of safety to his country, slew himself on the tomb of his daughter. He was, indeed, a man who preserved the Messenians in as great a degree as human counsel could effect, but whose operations and designs were frustrated by fortune. But he died after he had reigned six years and some months; and the Messenians were so afflicted and disturbed with his loss, that they were inclined to send to the Lacedæmonians in a suppliant manner; but anger restrained their intention. However, having called an assembly together, they did not elect a king, but chose Damis for the general of their forces, who joined Cleonnis and Phyleas to himself as his colleagues, and furnished every thing from his present supplies for the purposes of war. For he was compelled to act in this manner from the siege, through which, the want of provision was so great, that they had reason to fear destruction from famine. Indeed, the Messenians were never deficient in virtue and courage: but as, in about the space of five months, they had lost all their generals, and the best of their citizens, they abandoned Ithome, after the war had lasted nearly twenty years, which Tyrtæus evinces in the following verses:

> "When nineteen years were past, their splendid works
> They left, and from Ithome's mountains fled."

But the war was finished in the first year of the fourteenth

Olympiad, in which the Corinthian Damon conquered in the stadium, and when, among the Athenians, the Medontidæ still held the decennalian government, and the fourth year of the reign of Hippomenes was expired.

CHAPTER XIV.

Such of the Messenians after this, as had friends in Argos, Sicyon, or Arcadia, fled to those cities for refuge; and those that originated from sacred families fled to Eleusis, and officiated in the orgies of *the mighty goddesses*. But the greater part of the multitude betook themselves to their ancient places of abode. And with respect to the Lacedæmonians, they first of all subverted Ithome from its foundation; and afterwards attacking other cities, easily took them. But of the spoils, they dedicated three brazen tripods to Amyclæan Apollo. Upon the first of these tripods there is a statue of Venus; upon the second of Diana; and upon the third there are statues of Proserpine and Ceres. But of the Messenian land they gave to the Asinæi, who had been formerly conquered by the Argives, those maritime parts which they at present possess: and to the posterity of Androcles (for the daughter of Androcles was yet alive, and the offspring of this daughter, who, after the death of Androcles, fled to Sparta) they assigned that region which is called Hyamia.

But the conduct of the Lacedæmonians towards the Messenians was as follows: In the first place they forced them to swear, that they would never revolt from the Spartans, nor ever attempt any new enterprize. In the second place, they did not exact of them any annual tribute, but ordered them to carry to Sparta the half of all

the produce of their agriculture: and besides this, that both the men and women should attend the funerals of kings and nobles, clad in a black garment; and that such as did not comply with these orders should be punished. But their injurious treatment of the Messenians is mentioned in these verses of Tyrtæus:

> "Like asses, whom their cruel masters load
> With mighty burthens, through tyrannic powe
> The half of all their fertile crops they bear."

And that they were compelled to attend funerals in a mourning habit, is evident from these verses:

> "They and their wives compell'd to mourn their lords
> When snatch'd from hence by death's pernicious hand."

The Messenians, therefore, being oppressed with these evils, and not perceiving any hopes of milder treatment from the Lacedæmonians in future, considered that it was much better to die fighting, than to emigrate from Peloponnesus, and began to form new plans of revolt. The younger part, too, incited them to this revolt in no moderate degree: and though these youths were as yet unskilled in war, their elevation of soul was very conspicuous; and they preferred dying for the freedom of their country, to felicity in a state of subjection. The Messenian youth, indeed, were educated in several places, but the best and most numerous resided about Andania. Among these, too, Aristomenes was the most conspicuous, who is even now honoured by the Messenians as a hero; and his birthday is celebrated in the most splendid manner. For they report, that a certain dæmon, or a god, had connexion with his mother, in the form of a dragon. A circumstance of this kind is, I know, related by the Macedonians about Olympia, and by the Sicyonians about Aristodamia. There is this difference, however, between the accounts,

that the Messenians do not say that Aristomenes was the son of Hercules or Jupiter, in the same manner as the Macedonians assert that Alexander was the son of Ammon, and the Sicyonians that Aratus was the son of Æsculapius; but most of the Greeks say, that Pyrrhus was the father of Aristomenes. This I know, too, that the Messenians, in their libations, call upon Aristomenes the son of Nicomedes. This Aristomenes, therefore, who was in the vigour both of his age and courage, instigated others of the better sort to revolt. This, however, he did not immediately put in execution openly; but privately sending certain persons to the Argives and Arcadians, he tried whether they were willing to assist him without framing excuses, and with the same vigour as they employed in the former war.

CHAPTER XV.

And, indeed, the Messenians perceived their associates cheerfully prepared to engage in the war; for now the Arcadians and Argives clearly exhibited their hatred to the Lacedæmonians. Hence, when every thing necessary for the war was procured, the Messenians revolted in the forty-ninth year after the destruction of Ithome, but in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad, in which Icarus Hyperesiensis was victor in the stadium. But at that time the Athenians had yearly magistrates, and Tlesias was their archon. Tyrtæus, however, does not mention the names of the Spartan kings: but Rhianus, in his verses, says that Leotychides was king during this war; though I cannot by any means assent to him in this particular. But Tyrtæus may be considered as signifying what he does not openly assert: for there is an elegy of his ex-

tant respecting the former war, in which we meet with the following verses:

> "Untamed by toil, our fathers mighty sires,
> For nineteen years roused all their martial fires."

It is evident, therefore, from hence, that the Messenians engaged in this second war in the third age: and the series of time evinces that Anaxandrus the son of Eurycrates, and the grandson of Apollodorus, reigned in Sparta at that period. But the king out of the other family was Anaxidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, the grandson of Archidamus, and the great-grandson of Theopompus. The sovereign command, too, descended to the great-grandson of Theopompus, because Archidamus the son of Theopompus died before his father, and so the government devolved on Zeuxidamus, the young son of Theopompus.

But it appears that Leotychides obtained the government, after Demaratus the son of Aristomenes: and Ariston was the seventh grandson of Theopompus. At that time, therefore, the Messenians fought against the Lacedæmonians, at Dera, in the first year after their revolt. Neither party, however, was assisted by its allies; nor was it clearly evident which side was victorious. They report, that the actions of Aristomenes, in this engagement, surpassed what could be expected with any probability from one man, in consequence of which, after the battle, they would have chosen him for their king; for he was of the family of the Æpytidæ: but as he refused this dignity, they chose him for their general; and at the same time invested him with absolute power. After this, Aristomenes considered, that those who had performed actions worthy of commemoration, never refused any kind of endurance in war; but that he above all men ought to strike the enemy with terror at first, and that he should by this

means become more dreadful to them in future. In consequence of this opinion, therefore, he came by night to Lacedæmon, and fixed a shield near the temple of Chalciœcus, with an inscription signifying that Aristomenes dedicated it from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians. At the same time, too, the Lacedæmonians received an oracle from Delphos, which commanded them to make use of an Athenian for their counsellor. Hence, when by ambassadors they had informed the Athenians of the oracle, and at the same time required an Athenian as their adviser, the Athenians were by no means willing to comply: for they considered, that the Lacedæmonians could not, without great danger to the Athenians, take possession of the best part of the Peloponnesus: and at the same time, they were unwilling to disobey the commands of the god.

At last they adopted the following expedient: There was at Athens a certain teacher of grammar, whose name was Tyrtæus, who appeared to possess the smallest degree of intellect, and who was lame in one of his feet. This man they sent to Sparta, who at one time instructed the principal persons in what was necessary for them to do, and at another time the common people, by singing elegies to them, in which the praise of valour was contained, and verses called Anapæsti. But in the year after the battle at Dera, when the allies of both parties were present, they prepared for an engagement, near the monument of Carpus. The Eleans, therefore, and Arcadians, Argives, and Sicyonians, assisted the Messenians. Those likewise were present who before this had voluntarily fled from Messenia; and from Eleusis, those that by paternal right performed the orgies of the mighty goddesses, and the grandsons of Androcles. And all these, indeed, cheerfully sent assistance to the Messenians. But the Corinthians joined with the Lacedæmonians, and some of the Lapreatæ drawn by hatred of the Eleans. The Asinæi

were in league with both parties. But this place, which contains the sepulchre of Carpus, is in the Stenyclerus of Messenia: and they report, that Hercules in this place swore to the children of Neleus, and received an oath from them on the testicles of a boar. The prophets, too, performed the sacrifices on both sides: and the prophet of the Lacedæmonians was Hecatus, the grandson of that Hecatus who came to Sparta with the sons of Aristodemus; but of the Messenians, Theoclus. This Theoclus was the son of Eumantis; and Eumantis, who was an 'Elean, of the family of the Iamidæ, was brought to Messene by Cresphontes.

CHAPTER XVI.

When the prophets, therefore, began to incite the troops, they hastened with greater alacrity to the fight. And, indeed, the ardour throughout was correspondent to the strength and vigour of the combatants: but Anaxander king of the Lacedæmonians, and the Spartans about him, displayed an ardour superior to the rest. In the army, too, of the Messenians, the grandsons of Androcles, viz. Phintas and Androcles, and the troops which they commanded, endeavoured to give specimens of superior courage and skill. But Tyrtæus and the Hierophants of the goddesses did not engage in fight, but contented themselves with rousing the courage of the most distant parts of the two armies. With respect to Aristomenes, he was surrounded by eighty chosen Messenians of the same age with himself and each of whom considered himself honoured by being thought worthy to fight in conjunction with such a man as Aristomenes. They were all, too, skilful in perceiving, from trifling circumstances, the assistance which they mu-

tually stood in need of, and particularly in observing the actions of their leader, both while he was engaged in fight, and was beginning to engage.

These young men were the first that opposed Anaxander, and the flower of the Spartan army. However, as they were at length cruelly wounded, they were irritated to a degree of insane confidence, and desperately overturned the troops about Anaxander. But these were no sooner put to flight, than Aristomenes ordered another band of Messenians to pursue them, and at the same time turning himself with his forces to the fresh troops of the enemy, he forced these to turn their backs; and after these, others, and so on, till by penetrating through every part of the Lacedæmonian army, with much greater vigour than seemed possible to one man, he broke the ranks wherever he came, in a terrible manner, and put the whole army to flight. The troops of the enemy being thus routed, fled, covered with shame, with unremitting speed, till they all met together at a sylvan pear-tree, which grew in a certain part of the plain: and in this place, the prophet Theoclus recalled Aristomenes from the pursuit, because the Dioscuri had sat on this tree. Aristomenes, however, giving way to his wrath, and not hearing all that the prophet said, as soon as he arrived at the pear-tree, lost his shield: and this misfortune afforded some of the Lacedæmonians an opportunity of saving themselves by their flight; for he lost some time in endeavouring to find his shield. But the Lacedæmonians becoming very much dejected after this battle, were beginning to put a period to the war: and they would have put their intentions in execution, if Tyrtæus had not prevented them by singing his elegies, and supplying the troops that were slain from the Hilotes.

But as soon as Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw upon him, wherever he went, their fillets,

and other elegant decorations, and the men praised him in the following song, which is even sung at present:

> "Ev'n to the middle Stenyclerian plain,
> And to the lofty mount, the Spartan troops
> The conquering Aristomenes pursued."

Aristomenes, too, afterwards recovered his shield: for, coming to Delphos, he ascended, agreeably to the admonition of the Pythian deity, into the sacred adytum of Trophonius in Lebadea, and there found his shield, which he afterwards brought to Lebadea, and dedicated. And in this place I have seen it suspended. Its signature is an eagle extending its wings on each side, as far as to the margin of the shield. But after this, Aristomenes returning from Bœotia with the shield which he had found in the secret recess of Trophonius, immediately applied himself to still greater operations. For collecting other troops of the Messenians, and having his own person surrounded with chosen forces, he waited till the twilight was passed, and then marched to a Laconic city, which formerly was called, and in the catalogue of Homer is denominated, Pharis, but which is called by the Spartans and the neighbouring cities, Phara.

As soon as he arrived at this place, he slew those that attempted to defend themselves, and sacking the town returned with the spoil to Messene. And the Lacedæmonians, with their king Anaxander, taking up arms in order to oppose him, he overturned them in their march, and began to pursue the flying Anaxander; but being wounded by a dart in his thigh, he was obliged to stop his pursuit, though he did not from this accident lose any of his prey. After this, when as much time was elapsed as was sufficient for the cure of his wound, he intended to have marched into Sparta itself, but was deterred by seeing in the night the spectres of Helen and the Dioscuri,

However, he attacked in open day the Caryan virgins as they were celebrating the choirs sacred to Diana, and, making captives of such of them as surpassed the rest in riches and birth, led them to a certain Messenian town. Here, committing the virgins to the custody of some of his own troop, he rested for one night. In the mean time the young men, through intoxication and intemperate desire, began to offer violence to the virgins, and did not even pay any attention to Aristomenes, who endeavoured to restrain them from acting in a manner unbecoming natives of Greece; so that he was obliged to slay some of the most forward, and afterwards restored the captive virgins uninjured to their parents, receiving at the same time a considerable sum of money for their ransom.

CHAPTER XVII.

THERE is a place in the Laconic region called *Ægila*, in which there is a holy temple of Ceres. Aristomenes and his soldiers, knowing that in this place the women met together to celebrate a festival, endeavoured to take them captive. But as these women did not defend themselves without the assistance of the goddess, the greater part of the Messenians were grievously wounded by the women with the spits and burnt entrails which were used in the sacrifices, and Aristomenes himself, being struck with torches, was taken prisoner. However, he was soon rescued, and came the same night to Messene. It is said, that Archidamea gave him his liberty, not allured by money, but induced by love (for she loved him prior to this affair), though she pretended that he broke his fetters and fled. But in the third year, when the battle at *the great moat*, as it is called, was about to commence, and the

Arcadians from all their cities gave assistance to the Messenians; the Lacedæmonians corrupted by money Aristocrates the son of Hicetas, who was a Trapezuntian, and king of the Arcadians, and at that time was the general of the Arcadian armies. For the Lacedæmonians are the first we are acquainted with that made presents to an enemy, and caused the event of a war to be venal.

But before the Lacedæmonians acted in this unlawful manner towards the Messenians, and Aristocrates was corrupted by them, those that fought trusted to their virtue and the providence of the gods. The Lacedæmonians, however, appear, in following times, when they met with an Athenian fleet at Ægospotamos, to have corrupted by money both other Athenian commanders and particularly Adimantis. But a certain punishment, which is called Neoptolemea, once befel the Lacedæmonians: and this punishment was thus denominated in consequence of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles slaying Priam at the altar of Hercean Jupiter, and being himself slain in the same manner at the altar of the Delphic Apollo. And hence, when any one suffered just what he had made others endure, such a punishment came to be called Neoptolemea. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, when they were in a very flourishing condition, when they had destroyed the fleet of the Athenians, and had seized on a great part of Asia with Agesilaus for their leader, could not totally subvert the Persian empire; but the Barbarian circumvented them with their own arts, by sending money to Corinth, Argos, Athens, and Thebes. Hence the war called Corinthiac, originated from this bribery; and Agesilaus was obliged to abandon his possessions in Asia. This fraudulent conduct, therefore, of the Lacedæmonians towards the Messenians, the dæmon in after times turned to their destruction.

But Aristocrates, as soon as he had received the money from the Lacedæmonians, at first concealed his intentions

from the Arcadians; but when the two armies were marching to battle, he then terrified his troops, by observing to them, that if they should engage, they would be left in a very disagreeable situation, and that their retreat would be cut off if they should be vanquished. He farther added, that the victims in the sacrifice did not portend the desired success. In consequence of this, he ordered all of them, when he should give the signal, to betake themselves to flight. When the Lacedæmonians, therefore, began the fight, and the Messenians turned themselves to oppose them, Aristocrates, while the battle was but just begun, drew off the Arcadians, and by this means left the left wing and the middle of the Messenian army naked; for the Arcadians filled up these two parts of the army, because the Eleans, Argives, and Sicyonians were absent from the fight. And that the Arcadians might be effectually restrained from engaging, Aristocrates fled through the Messenians.

But the Messenians, in consequence of this unexpected change, were so astonished, and so disturbed by the Arcadians passing through them, that many of them wanted but little of forgetting their present danger; for instead of directing their attention to the Lacedæmonians that were now rushing on them, they looked back on the flying Arcadians; and while some suppliantly entreated them to stay, others reviled them as betrayers and violators of their compacts. In the meantime the Lacedæmonians, without much difficulty, surrounded the abandoned Messenians, and obtained an easy and expeditious victory over them. But Aristomenes and his band stood their ground, and endeavoured to repress the most forward of the Lacedæmonians. They were, however, too few to be of much use on this pressing occasion; and such numbers of the Messenians perished, that those who thought at first that they should be the lords of the Lacedæmonians instead of their

slaves, had not then the least hope of being saved. Among those of the principal sort, Androcles and Phintas fell, and he who in this engagement deserved the highest praise, Phanas, and who, prior to this, was illustrious for his victory in the long chariot race of the Olympic games. But Aristomenes, after the battle, collected together the flying troops of the Messenians, and leaving Andania, and the other more inland towns, betook himself to the mountain Ira. When he had entrenched himself with his forces in this place, he was besieged by the Lacedæmonians, who expected an immediate conquest. Such, however, was the resistance of the Messenians, that they defended themselves for eleven years. But that the siege continued so long is evident from the verses of Rhianus upon the Lacedæmonians, in which he says:

> "For twice eleven changing seasons, form'd
> From stormy winter and the virid herb,
> Near a white mount, the Spartan camps were fix'd."

In these verses, he circumscribes years by winters and summers; and by *the herb*, signifies *grass*, a little before harvest time.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE Messenians, as soon as they had fixed their residence in Ira, being excluded from every other place of abode, except such maritime parts as the Pylians and Mothonæans had preserved for them, employed themselves in taking prey, not only from the Laconic dominions, but from their own country, which they now considered as hostile to their intentions. Indeed they made incursions every where, just as it happened; and Aristomenes, in particular, having collected into one body a chosen band of three hundred men, plundered with them as much as

possible from the Lacedæmonians, and took from them corn, wine, and cattle, but restored back their slaves and furniture for money. This plundering, however, compelled the Lacedæmonians to publish an edict, that such parts as bordered on Messenia and the Laconic region should not be cultivated during the war, as they perceived that they tilled the land more for the inhabitants of Ira than themselves. Hence the scarcity of corn which happened in Sparta was attended with a sedition, as those that had possessions in these parts could not bear that their land should remain in this uncultivated state. This disaffection, however, Tyrtæus appeased by his verses: and in the meantime Aristomenes, with his chosen band, left Ira as soon as it was night, and with great celerity marched to Amyclæ, at which place he arrived by break of day, took and plundered the city, and returned to Ira before the Spartans could give any assistance to the town.

Aristomenes, too, after this continued to plunder the Spartan land, nor did he cease his hostilities, till happening to meet with more than half of the Lacedæmonian forces, together with both the kings, among other wounds which he received in defending himself, he was struck so violently on the head with a stone, that his eyes were covered with darkness, and he fell to the ground. The Lacedæmonians, on seeing this, rushed in a collected body upon him, and took him alive, together with fifty of his men. They likewise determined to throw all of them into the Ceadas, or a deep chasm, into which the most criminal offenders were hurled. Indeed, the other Messenians perished after this manner; but some god who had so often preserved Aristomenes, delivered him at that time from the fury of the Spartans. And some who entertain the most magnificent idea of his character, say, that an eagle flying to him bore him on its wings to the bottom of the chasm, so that he sustained no injury by the fall.

Indeed, he had not long reached the bottom before a dæmon showed him a passage, by which he might make his escape: for as he lay in this profound chasm wrapped in a robe, expecting nothing but death, he heard a noise on the third day, and uncovering his face (for he was now able to look through the darkness), he saw a fox touching one of the dead bodies. Considering, therefore, where the passage could be through which the beast had entered, he waited till the fox came nearer to him, and when this happened, seized it with one of his hands, and with the other, as often as it turned to him, exposed his robe for the animal to seize. At length, the fox beginning to run away, he suffered himself to be drawn along by her, through places almost impervious, till he saw an opening just sufficient for the fox to pass through, and a light streaming through the hole. And the animal, indeed, as soon as she was freed from Aristomenes, betook herself to her usual place of retreat. But Aristomenes, as the opening was not large enough for him to pass through, enlarged it with his hands, and escaped safe to Ira. The fortune, indeed, by which Aristomenes was taken, was wonderful, for his spirit and courage were so great, that no one could hope to take him; but his preservation at Ceadas is far more wonderful, and at the same time it is evident to all men that it did not take place without the interference of a divine power.

CHAPTER XIX.

But when the Lacedæmonians were told by certain persons, who fled voluntarily as if they had been exiles, that Aristomenes had returned safe to his own people, they considered the narration as incredible, as if they had been told that a dead man had been restored to life by

his own means. The following transaction, however, convinced them of the truth of this report. The Corinthians sent certain forces to the Lacedæmonians, to assist them in the capture of Ira. Aristomenes being informed of this by his spies, and that their camps were without a guard, attacked them by night, and while they were yet asleep slew many of them, and their leaders Hypermenides, Achladæus, Lysistratus, and Idectus, and afterwards plundered the general's tent. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, well knew that the author of this enterprise could be no other than Aristomenes. After this, Aristomenes sacrificed to Jupiter Ithomatas; and the sacrifice which he then offered is called Hecatomphonia, and is of most ancient institution. It is likewise performed by such of the Messenians as have slain in battle one hundred men. Aristomenes, therefore, sacrificed the first Hecatomphonia, when he fought at the tomb of Carpus; the second, when he slew the Corinthians in the night; and he is said to have performed a third sacrifice, in consequence of some posterior excursions.

But the Lacedæmonians, as it was now the time in which they celebrated their Hyacinthia, agreed with the Messenians in Ira on a cessation of hostilities for forty days. And while they were celebrating this festival, the Cretan archers, who were called from Lyctus and other Cretan cities, made incursions into Messenia. Aristomenes, therefore, in consequence of the league, was at that time absent from Ira; and as he was wandering about without fear, seven of these Cretan archers took him by stratagem, and bound him with the cords of their quivers, for it was now evening. After this, two of these men went to Sparta, and told the Lacedæmonians that Aristomenes was taken, while the rest led him thus captive to Agilus, a place in Messenia. In this place a virgin dwelt along with her mother, for her father was dead. But in the night prior to this

event, the virgin saw in a dream a lion without talons, led along by wolves: but she thought that he was freed from his bonds by herself, that she caused him to resume his wonted courage, and gave him his talons; and that thus at length the wolves were torn in pieces by the lion. As soon, therefore, as the Cretans brought Aristomenes to this place, the virgin knew the meaning of her dream, and asked her mother who Aristomenes was. But when her mother had satisfied her in this particular, and she had beheld Aristomenes, she knew at once what she ought to do. Hence she gave the Cretans wine in abundance, and as soon as they were intoxicated, and in a deep sleep, drew out a dagger, with which she cut the bonds of Aristomenes; and he receiving the dagger from her, slew his insidious enemies. Gorgos, the son of Aristomenes, married this virgin by the desire of Aristomenes, in consequence of her having preserved his life. But Gorgos was not more than eighteen years old when he married the virgin.

CHAPTER XX.

At length, in the eleventh year of the siege, Ira was taken by the will of the Fates, and the Messenians driven from their abodes. Indeed, the oracle given to Aristomenes and Theoclus, when they came to Delphos, after the battle at the moat, was verified by the event of the particulars which it respected. But the Pythian virgin, on their inquiring concerning their safety, answered them as follows: "As long as a goat shall drink the winding water of Neda, I will preserve Messene, but no longer: for her destruction is at hand." The fountains of this river Neda are in the mountain Lyceus; and the river itself flowing through Arcadia, and again winding towards

Messenia, becomes the boundary of the maritime parts to the Messenians and Eleans. And then, indeed, the Messenians thought that they ought not to suffer the he-goats to drink of the water of Neda. The meaning, however, of the divinity was as follows: The wild fig-tree, which the Greeks call *Olynthos*, is denominated by the Messenians *tragos*, or *a goat*. At that time, therefore, a wild fig-tree, which grew on the banks of the Neda, instead of tending upwards inclined towards the river, and touched the water with its outermost leaves. The prophet Theoclus beholding this, sagaciously conjectured that the Pythian deity, by the goat drinking out of the Neda, alluded to this fig-tree: and that the fatal time of the Messenians was now at hand.

However, he concealed this circumstance from the multitude, but bringing Aristomenes to the fig-tree, informed him that the time of their safety was expired. Aristomenes was persuaded that this was the case; and as affairs were now brought to an extremity, provided for the present circumstances in the best manner he was able. As the Messenians, therefore, possessed something belonging to arcane mysteries, which, if destroyed, would be the eternal ruin of Messene, but if preserved, would, according to the oracles of Lycus, the son of Pandion, be the means of restoring Messene, in some future period, to its pristine condition:—this arcanum Aristomenes, who knew the oracles, carried away as soon as it was night, and buried it in the most solitary part of the mountain Ithome; as he was of opinion that Jupiter Ithomatas, and the other divinities who had preserved Messene to that time, would carefully guard the sacred deposit, and not suffer the Lacedæmonians to take away their only hope of possessing Messene again, in some after period of time.

After this, great evils befel the Messenians through adultery, as was the case with the Trojans before them. For some of the Messenians dwelt on the summit of the

mountain Ira, and others dwelt beyond the gates; but no person whatever voluntarily came to them from Laconia. A servant, however, of Emperamus, who was an illustrious Spartan, drove along the oxen of his master, and fed them not far from the river Neda: and perceiving the wife of a Messenian, who did not dwell within the walls, coming to draw water, he fell in love with her, had the boldness to enter into amorous conversation with her, and at last prevailed on her by gifts to consent to his desire. After this, he watched the time when her husband departed to his guard: for the Messenians defended the citadel by turns, as they were fearful lest the enemy should attempt to enter within the walls from this part of the town. When this man, therefore, went to his charge, the herdsman hastened to his wife. It happened, however, at that time, that the husband of the woman was accompanied in the night with a guard of soldiers: but the Messenians, in consequence of a violent shower of rain, were obliged to leave their guard; for the rain fell upon them in great abundance, and they had neither any projection from the wall, nor towers, by which they might be sheltered from the inconvenience of the weather.

They likewise hoped, that the Lacedæmonians would never think of attacking them in such a dark and stormy night. Aristomenes, too, could not inspect the guard as he was accustomed to do: for not many days before this, the Lacedæmonians with the Apteræan archers, led by the Spartan Euryalus, had intercepted a Cephellenian merchant, who used to carry corn and other necessaries to Ira: but Aristomenes, as this man was his guest, preserved both him and his goods, though he was by this means so wounded, that he was incapable of acting as usual. This, therefore, was the principal reason of their leaving the citadel: and as each returned home from his charge, this was the case among the rest with the husband of the woman who had committed adultery with the herdsman.

But the woman, who at that time had the herdsman with her, as soon as she perceived her husband coming, concealed her gallant with all the celerity possible, received her husband with more kindness than usual, and inquired the reason of his unexpected arrival. He, who neither suspected her adultery, nor knew of the herdsman being in the house, told her the truth of the case; that both he and all his companions were driven from their post by the violence of the rain. The herdsman heard this relation, and, as soon as he was well instructed in each particular, betook himself with the utmost celerity to the Lacedæmonians. At that time, however, both the Spartan kings were absent; but Emperamus, the master of the herdsman, was the leader of the forces that besieged Ira. The herdsman, therefore, coming to his master, in the first place begged pardon for his flight; and afterwards informed him, that the time was then particularly favourable to the capture of Ira; relating, to convince him of this, the several particulars of the Messenian's discourse.

CHAPTER XXI.

The narration of the herdsman was credited, and Emperamus with his Spartans immediately followed him to Ira. But their march was difficult, by reason of the darkness and violence of the rain. However, having mastered these disadvantages by their alacrity, they arrived at the citadel of Ira, and by means of scaling ladders, and other such methods as they were able to adopt, ascended above the fortifications. Among other prodigies which portended to the Messenians their imminent destruction, the dogs were observed to howl, not in their usual manner, but with a more continued and violent clamour. The Messenians,

therefore, perceiving that their last and most necessary contest was now at hand, did not take up all their arms, but every one snatching the weapon which he chanced to find, endeavoured to defend the only country which remained to them out of all Messenia. But Gorgos the son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, the prophet Theoclus, and Manticlus the son of Theoclus, first perceived that the enemy was within the walls, and were the first that gave their assistance. These were joined by Euergitadas, a man who, among other things for which he was honoured in Messene, had ennobled himself by marriage: for he was married to Agnagora the daughter of Aristomenes.

All these, therefore, except Aristomenes and the prophet, though they perceived themselves caught as it were in a net, and on all sides surrounded and oppressed, yet entertained a certain hope from the present forlorn state of their affairs; but these two were confident, that the destruction of the Messenians would be no longer deferred, as well knowing what the oracle obscurely signified by the goat. However, notwithstanding this, they were of opinion, that this circumstance should be concealed from the multitude; and eagerly running through every part of the town, exhorted all they met to behave themselves valiantly, and called from their houses those that yet remained behind. On that night, indeed, nothing worthy of relation was performed by either party. For the Lacedæmonians were rendered remiss by their ignorance of the place, and the courage of Aristomenes. But the Messenians were too much distracted to attend to the orders of their leaders: and, if any one enkindled a torch, or any other inflammable substance, it was immediately extinguished by the god of rains.

As soon as it was day, and they were able to behold each other, Aristomenes and Theoclus endeavoured to render

the Messenians desperate, both by instructing them in such particulars as the occasion required, and reminding them of the courageous behaviour of the Smyrnæans, who being a part of the Ionians, through their virtue and alacrity, drove out Gyges the son of Dascylus, who then possessed the city of the Lydians. But the Messenians, on hearing this, were filled with a desperate courage, and rushed on the Lacedæmonians wherever they happened to meet with them. The women, too, from higher places, hurled tiles and other destructive materials at the Lacedæmonians: but the violence of the rain prevented them from climbing to the roofs of their houses. However, they had the courage to take up arms; and by this means inflamed the ardour of the men, when they perceived that the very women had rather die in the defence of their country, than become slaves to the Lacedæmonians. This vigorous resistance might perhaps have averted their destiny, but the god poured down the rain in increased abundance, rolled loud thunder over their heads, and filled them with terror, by darting his lightning in their eyes. On the contrary, this dreadful storm increased the confidence of the Lacedæmonians, who considered it as a signal that the god declared himself on their side; especially when the prophet Hecatus, in consequence of the thunder being on their right hand, informed them that it was an auspicious sign.

This prophet, too, invented the following stratagem. The Lacedæmonians were far superior to the Messenians in number, but as they were not drawn up in a wide plain and in the regular order of battle, but fought in scattered parties in different quarters of the city, those in the rear of every troop were necessarily useless. These troops, therefore, Hecatus ordered to return to the camp, and after they had refreshed their bodies with food and sleep, to come back again in the evening and relieve those that

were wearied; as by this means, fresh troops succeeding such as were worn out with fatigue, the vigour of the fight would be easily sustained. But now the affairs of the Messenians were, on all sides, in the greatest perplexity; for they had been in arms for three days and nights without any respite, and were nearly exhausted with watching, rain, cold, hunger, and thirst; but the women were the most reduced, through their being unaccustomed to war, and the continuance of the labour. The prophet Theoclus, therefore, at length said to Aristomenes: Why do you endure this fruitless labour? It is decreed by destiny that Messene shall be entirely destroyed; the destruction is now apparent, was formerly signified by the Pythian deity, and was lately evinced by the wild fig-tree. And me, indeed, the god impels to fall with my country; but do you, as much as you are able, preserve the Messenians, and save yourself. After he had thus addressed Aristomenes, he rushed on the enemy, and with a loud voice told the Lacedæmonians, that they would not perpetually rejoice in their victory over the Messenians. After this, falling on those that opposed him, he made a great slaughter among them, and, at length, satiated with the destruction of his enemies, fell, covered with wounds. But Aristomenes called the Messenians from the fight, except those that, on account of their courage, fought by his side; for these he suffered to maintain their ground; but he ordered the rest to place their wives and children in the midst of their troops, and follow wherever he should make a passage for their escape. Over the last of these forces he placed Gorgos and Manticlus; and he himself, rushing on the leaders of his enemies forces, by the shaking of his head and the motion of his spear, evinced that he meant to force a passage, and make his escape. Emperamus, therefore, and the Spartans that were present, suffered the Messenians to pass through them, without farther

exasperating men already driven to the extremity of desperation; the prophet Hecatus at the same time persuading them to act in this manner.

CHAPTER XXII.

As soon as the Arcadians understood that Ira was taken, they immediately requested Aristocrates to lead them to battle, that they might either preserve the Messenians, or perish along with them. But Aristocrates, as one who had been bribed by the Lacedæmonians, was not willing to gratify their request, and told them that he knew there were no Messenians left alive for them to assist. As soon, however, as the Arcadians clearly perceived that some Messenians remained, who had been compelled to leave Ira, they went of their own accord to meet them at the mountain Lycæus, brought food and raiment for them, and sent certain persons to console them, and conduct them in their march. When the Messenians, therefore, had arrived safe at Lycæus, they were hospitably entertained by the Arcadians, and liberally invited to abide in their cities, and share their land. But Aristomenes, through commiseration of plundered Ira, and hatred of the Lacedæmonians, devised the following stratagem. Out of the number of the Messenians he selected fifty men, whom he knew were the least concerned about their own safety, and in the hearing of the other Arcadians, and of Aristocrates himself, who he did not then know had betrayed the Messenians (for he thought that he fled through cowardice and fear, and not from a vicious motive), inquired of the fifty, whether they were willing to die with him in revenging their country's cause? As soon as they

had all declared that they were willing, he told them, that in the evening he would lead them to Sparta, as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were then at Ira, and the rest were occupied in plundering the property of the Messenians.

Aristomenes farther added, "If we should be fortunate enough to take possession of Sparta, we shall be able to restore to the Lacedæmonians their possessions, and receive back ours in exchange: but, if we fall in our design, and lose our lives, we shall render ourselves illustrious to posterity by our daring attempt." When he had thus spoken, three hundred Arcadians were willing to participate with him of the bold undertaking; but their march was at that time restrained because the victims did not exhibit auspicious omens. On the following day, however, their secret design was unfolded to the Lacedæmonians, and they were a second time betrayed by Aristocrates. For Aristocrates immediately committed to writing the intention of Aristomenes, and sent the book by a servant in whom he could confide to Anaxander at Sparta. This servant, however, on his return was intercepted by certain Arcadians, who before this had been at variance with Aristocrates, but at that time suspected his conduct. They brought, therefore, this servant to the Arcadians, and showed the people the answer which was sent from Lacedæmonia. In this letter Anaxander acknowledged that the flight of Aristocrates at the great moat had been no small aid to the Lacedæmonian affairs, and thanked him for his present intelligence. But as soon as this matter was publicly known, the Arcadians threw stones at Aristocrates, and exhorted the Messenians to do the same. They however looked at Aristomenes, who, fixing his eyes on the ground, wept. The Arcadians, therefore, stoned Aristocrates to death, and buried him after they had hurled his corpse out of their dominions. They erected

a pillar, too, in the temple of Lycæus, with the following verses inscribed on it:

Time, with avenging hand, is sure at last
To punish unjust kings, and easily with Jove
Messene's traitor found: for perjured men
T' elude divinity in vain attempt.
Hail, sov'reign Jove, and save Arcadia's realms!

CHAPTER XXIII.

But such of the Messenians as were either left at Ira, or in any other place, were incorporated among the Hilotes. The Pylians, however, Mothonæans, and others that dwelt near the sea, after the capture of Ira, betook themselves to Cyllene, which was the haven of the Eleans; and from hence sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, desiring them, in one collected body, to seek for a proper place of abode, and to make Aristomenes the leader of their expedition. Aristomenes, however, declared, that as long as he lived he would war on the Lacedæmonians, and that he knew perfectly well that some new evil would always befal Sparta through his means. He therefore gave them Gorgos and Manticlus for their leaders. But Euergetidas with the other Messenians migrated to the mountain Lycæus, and from thence, as soon as he perceived that the stratagem of Aristomenes respecting the capture of Sparta had proved abortive, returned with fifty Messenians to Ira, and meeting with the Lacedæmonians laden with prey, made them repent their undertaking, and at length fell himself in the engagement. But Aristomenes, as soon as he had appointed the leaders for the Messenians at Cyllene, gave permission to any that were willing to follow them.

And all, indeed, accepted his offer, except such as were prevented by old age, or the want of things necessary for their settlement.

This capture of Ira, and completion of the second war of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, happened when Autosthenes was the Athenian archon, and in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, in which Chionis Laco was victor. But when the Messenians met together at Cyllene they thought it best to stay there during the winter, which had then commenced. And after they had adopted this resolution, the Eleans supplied them with the necessaries of life. But as soon as the spring appeared, they began to consider where they should direct their course. And Gorgos, indeed, was of opinion, that they should fix upon the island Zacynthus above Cephallenia, as by this means becoming islanders instead of inhabitants of the continent they might injure the land of the Lacedæmonians by their maritime excursions. But Manticlus exhorted them both to bury Messene and their hatred of the Lacedæmonians in oblivion, and told them, that by sailing to Sardus, they might possess an island the greatest of all others, and the first in felicity. In the mean time Anaxilas sent to the Messenians, and offered them a residence in Italy. This Anaxilas reigned over Rhegium, and was the great grandson of Alcidamidas. But Alcidamidas migrated from Messene to Rhegium, after the death of king Aristodemus, and the capture of Ithome.

This Anaxilas, therefore, persuaded the Messenians to settle with him, and told them on their arrival, that there was a disagreement between him and the Zanclæi, who possessed a very delightful country, and a city situated in a very convenient part of Sicily. He added, that if he should conquer this country, he would give it to them. After the Messenians had approved this intention, Anaxilas passed over with them into Sicily. Zancle was at first

infested with robbers; and as the country was situated in a desert, the robbers inclosed with a wall all the parts about the port, and built a castle, by means of which they might both assault persons at sea, and defend themselves when they were assaulted. Their leaders were the Samian Cratæmenes, and Perieres of Chalcis, who appear to have afterwards colonized others of the Greeks. And then, indeed, Anaxilas vanquished the Zanclæi in a naval battle, and the Messenians in a land engagement. But the Zanclæans being afterwards besieged by the Messenians by land, and the Rheginians by sea, and having their wall thrown down, fled to the altars and temples of the gods. Anaxilas, therefore, as this was the case, ordered the Messenians to cut off the suppliant Zanclæans, and to make slaves of the rest, together with their wives and children. Gorgos, however, and Manticlus entreated Anaxilas not to compel them to act in the same impious manner towards the Greeks, as their kindred had acted towards them. After this, therefore, the Zanclæans rising from the altars, and oaths being given on both sides, the place came to be inhabited by both in common. But the name of the city was changed, and called Messene, instead of Zancle. These events happened in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, in which Chionis Lacon was the second time victor, and Miltiades was the Athenian archon. But Manticlus raised a temple of Hercules for the Messenians; and at present there is a temple of the god beyond the walls, which they call Hercules Manticlus: just as with respect to Ammon in Libya, and Belus in Babylon, the latter of these was denominated from the Egyptian Belus the son of Lybe, and the former from a shepherd who founded the temple. And such was the end of the wanderings of the exiled Messenians.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In the mean time Aristomenes, as he did not choose to take the command of the new colony, married his sister Agnagora to Tharyx in Phegalia, and the eldest of his daughters to Damothoidas Lepreate, and the next to her to Theopompus Heræensis. After this, he went to Delphos to consult the oracle. And the answer, indeed, which Aristomenes received is not known: but the Pythian deity ordered Damagetus Rhodius king of Ialysus (who came to Apollo to inquire what woman he should marry) to marry the daughter of the best of the Greeks. Damagetus, therefore, married the third daughter of Aristomenes, as he considered her father by far the best of all the Greeks that existed at that period. But Aristomenes came to Rhodes with his daughter, and afterwards proposing to pass over from thence to Ardys the son of Gyges, and to Ecbatana to king Phraortes, he was seized with a disease, and died before he was able to accomplish his design. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, were freed from any further molestation through Aristomenes: and Damagetus, and the Rhodians, raised an illustrious monument to his memory, and paid him from that time all the honours which he deserved. But here I shall pass over the particulars relative to those persons who are called in Rhodes the Diagoridæ, because they originated from Diagoras the son of Damagetus, the grandson of Doreus, and the great grandson of Damagetus and the daughter of Aristomenes; and this, lest I should appear to write about things which do not concern the present history.

The Lacedæmonians, then, as soon as they had subdued Messenia, divided all the country amongst themselves, except the land of the Asinæi: but they gave Methone to the Nauplienses, who a little before this had been driven

from Nauplia by the Argives. Such of the Messenians, however, as remained in the land, and who were placed from necessity among the Hilotes, revolted a second time from the Lacedæmonians in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, in which Xenophon vanquished the Corinthians, and when Archimedes was the Athenian archon. But they revolted on the following account: Some of the Lacedæmonians, who were condemned to death for a certain crime, fled in a suppliant manner to Tænarus; but here the chief of the Ephori tore them from the altar, and put them to death. And the Spartans, for this violation of suppliants in the temple of Neptune, experienced the anger of the god, by the entire subversion of their city. During the time of this calamity, therefore, such of the ancient Hilotæ among the Messenians as remained, migrated to the mountain Ithome. But the Lacedæmonians sent against them, among their other allies, Cimon the son of Miltiades, who was publicly their friend, and a band of Athenians. The Athenians, however, were no sooner arrived, than they were suspected by the Spartans as disposed to innovation, and in consequence of this suspicion were recalled by them from Ithome. But the Athenians, as soon as they perceived that they were suspected by the Lacedæmonians, became friends with the Argives on this account, and gave to the Messenians, who in the siege of Ithome had been dismissed on certain conditions, Naupactus for a place of abode, and which had been taken from those Locrians who at Ætolia are called Ozolæ. This country became a place of safety to the Messenians that left Ithome; and at the same time the Pythian deity announced to the Lacedæmonians, that they would be punished if they injured the suppliants of Jupiter Ithomatas. In consequence of this, the Lacedæmonians dismissed them from Peloponnesus, on certain conditions.

CHAPTER XXV.

But the Messenians, though they were in possession of Naupactus, were not satisfied with the enjoyment of a city and country the gift of the Athenians, but had a strong desire of obtaining with their own hands something worthy of renown. Hence, on finding that the Œneada, who belonged to the Acarnanes, possessed a fertile country, and that they were the perpetual enemies of the Athenians, they directed their forces against them. The Messenians, indeed, were not more in number than the Œneada, but they were much superior to them in valour. In consequence of this, therefore, they vanquished them in battle, and afterwards, driving them within their walls, besieged their city. Here the Messenians, not omitting any thing which has been invented for the purposes of a siege, placed ladders against the walls, which they undermined; and at the same time employed all the machines which could be constructed in so short a time. A part of the wall therefore being thrown down, the inhabitants were afraid lest, if the city should be taken, they should be slain, and their wives and children enslaved; and in consequence of this made a league, and abandoned the city. This place was possessed by the Messenians for the space of one year; but in the following year the Acarnanes having collected an army from all their cities, determined upon warring on Naupactus. This hasty resolution was however laid aside, when they perceived that they must march through the Ætolians, with whom they had been continually at war; and besides this, they suspected, which was really the case, that the Naupacti were fitting out a fleet, and as these people were in possession of the sea, that they should not

be able to accomplish any thing considerable by engaging with them either by sea or land.

In consequence of this, changing their design, they immediately turned their forces against the Messenians in Oeniadæ; and for this purpose prepared every thing proper for the siege; for they could not suppose, that such a handful of men would dare to engage an army composed of all the Acarnanes. The Messenians, on the other hand, though they had collected together a quantity of corn, and other things necessary for persons besieged, and for a siege of long duration, determined, before they were surrounded by the enemy, to engage in open fight; as they did not think it by any means proper, that they who were not inferior to the Lacedæmonians in courage, though they were less fortunate, should be terrified at the multitude of the approaching Acarnanians. They likewise called to mind the illustrious achievement of the Athenians at Marathon, where three hundred thousand Medes were cut off by only thirty thousand Athenians. They therefore drew up in order of battle against the Acarnanes, and the manner of the fight is said to have been as follows:

The Acarnanes, as far excelling the Messenians in number, surrounded them on all sides, except in that part where they were prevented by the gates at the back of the Messenians, and where the Messenians were defended by their own people from the walls. Both the sides, however, of the Messenian army were enclosed and vigorously attacked by the Acarnanes; but the Messenians rushing on the enemy in collected troops, disordered one part of their forces, destroyed another part, and wounded many. Notwithstanding this, they were not able to put the enemy to flight, because, wherever certain of the Acarnanes perceived their ranks were broken by the Messenians, there running to the assistance of their disordered troops, they

hindered, by their multitude, the Messenians from entirely subduing them. And when the Messenians, being repulsed, again endeavoured to cut off the phalanx of the Acarnanes, their victory was impeded in the same manner as before; for others were ready with their assistance, and repulsed them by their numbers, so that they were obliged, though unwillingly, to yield to the multitude of the Acarnanes. The battle, therefore, remained on equal terms till the evening: and in the night which followed, the Arcarnanes, having received assistance from their cities, besieged the Messenians, who had retired within their walls. And the Messenians, indeed, were by no means afraid, either that their walls would be taken, or that they should be vanquished by the desertion of their guards: but this was the subject of their affliction, that all their necessary supplies had been exhausted within the eighth month. However, they deluded the Acarnanes from the walls, by telling them that, if the siege were to last for ten years, they should not be in want of provisions; and during the first hours of rest, came secretly out of Oeniadæ, but not without being observed by the Acarnanes. An engagement therefore ensuing, they lost about three hundred of their own forces, and slew a greater number of the enemy. Afterwards the greater part of them made their way through the Acarcanes; and passing through the country of the Ætolians, with whom they were upon amicable terms, arrived safe at Naupactus.

CHAPTER XXVI.

From this time the Messenians entertained the most violent hatred against the Lacedæmonians; and this hatred showed itself in the most remarkable degree during the

war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. For Naupactus was a very convenient receptacle for the Athenians in their war with the Peloponnesians; and the Messenian slingers from Naupactus, together with the Athenians, slew the Spartans that were oppressed at Sphacteria. But as the Athenians were vanquished at Ægospotamos, so the Lacedæmonians drove the Messenians from Naupactus, after they had conquered them in a naval engagement. In consequence, therefore, of this expulsion, some of them migrated to Sicily to their kindred, and to Rhegium; but the greater part of them went to Libya, and to the Euesperitæ, a people of Libya. For the Euesperitæ having been injured in war by the Barbarians their neighbours, associated with all that bore a Grecian name. But the Messenians had for their leader, in this expedition, Comon, who was their commander at Sphacteria.

One year, therefore, prior to the victory of the Thebans in Leuctra, a divine power signified to the Messenians that they should return to Peloponnesus. For the Messenians report, that the priest of Hercules, near the sea, saw in a dream Hercules, who is called Manticlus, hospitably invited by Jupiter to the mountain Ithome. But Comon, when he was among the Euesperitæ, dreamed that he had connexion with the dead body of his mother, and that by this means she came to life again. And Comon, indeed, was in hopes of being able to make a descent upon Naupactus, as the Athenians were very powerful by sea. The dream, however, signified, that Messene would be recovered again. For, not long after, it happened that the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra suffered the misfortune which was their due from a more ancient period. For an oracle was given to Aristodemus when he reigned over the Messenians, the last verse of which was to this effect: "Act in a proper manner; for Fate now urges these, and now

those." The oracle therefore signified, that the Messenian affairs would at that time be badly conducted, but that afterwards Lacedæmonia would in its turn be oppressed by destiny. The Thebans, therefore, being then victors at Leuctra, sent messengers to Italy, Sicily, and the Euesperitæ, and to every other place where the Messenians had fled for refuge, desiring them to return to Peloponnesus.

The Messenians, indeed, on receiving this message, assembled together with more celerity than could be supposed, through a desire of again possessing their native country, and in consequence of their eternal hatred of the Lacedæmonians. But Epaminondas was doubful where it would be proper for them to fix their place of abode, as it did not seem by any means easy to build a city sufficiently well fortified against the Lacedæmonians, and there did not appear to be any place in Messene adapted to this purpose. For the Messenians were unwilling to fix their residence either in Andania or Oechalia, because in both these places they had been oppressed by the hand of misfortune. As Epaminondas, therefore, was hesitating how to act in this case, they report that an old man, who had very much the appearance of an hierophant, stood before him in the night, and said, "To you, indeed, I give victory in every engagement; and through my means, O Theban, you shall neither be nameless, nor without glory among men. But do you lead back the Messenians to their paternal land and cities; for the anger of the Dioscuri against them is now appeased." And such was his speech to Epaminondas.

But Epiteles the son of Æschynes, whom the Argives chose for their general, and the restorer of Messene, was commanded in a dream to dig up that part of the earth in Ithome, which was situated between a yew-tree and a myrtle, and take out of a brazen bed-chamber which he

would find there, an old woman worn out with her confinement, and almost dead. Epiteles, therefore, as soon as it was day, went to the place which had been described to him in the dream, and dug up a brazen water-pot. This he immediately took to Epaminondas, who, when he had heard the dream, ordered him to remove the cover, and see what it contained. Epiteles, therefore, as soon as he had sacrificed, and prayed to the god who had given the dream, opened the water-pot, and found in it a thin plate rolled up like a book, and in which the mysteries of the mighty goddesses were written. This was the secret which Aristomenes had buried in that place: and they report, that the person who was seen by Epiteles and Epaminondas in a dream, was Caucon, who formerly came from Athens to Andania, in order to deposit certain arcana with Messene the daughter of Triopas.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians, which originated prior to the battle at Stenyclerus, took place, as far as I can conjecture, from the following cause: Two youths of Andania, Panormus and Gonippus, who were both beautiful in their persons, and greatly attached to each other by the correspondence of their disposition and pursuits, used to make mutual excursions into Laconia, for the purpose of committing depredations in the Spartan dominions. It so happened, that the Lacedæmonians, who were celebrating a festival in honour of the Dioscuri, were amusing themselves in their camps after the feast with drinking and sport. At this time Gonippus and Panormus, clothed in white garments and purple cloaks, and riding on most beautiful

horses, with hats on their heads, and spears in their hands, showed themselves unexpectedly to the Lacedæmonians. But the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they saw them, reverenced and prayed to them, supposing them to be the Dioscuri, who were come to visit their sacrifice. The youths, however, as soon as they were mingled among the Spartans, made a great slaughter of them with their spears; and having treated the sacrifice to the Dioscuri with great contempt, returned to Andania. And this, as it appears to me, led the Dioscuri to a hatred of the Messenians. But then, as the dream evinced to Epaminondas, the return of the Messenians to their native country was not contrary to the will of the Dioscuri. The oracles of Bacis, however, particularly induced Epaminondas to the colonization of the Messenians. For Bacis, who was agitated with divine fury from the Nymphs, poured forth oracles for various Grecian cities, and delivered the following concerning the restoration of the Messenians:

> "The splendid flower of Sparta then shall fade;
> And all Messene, through the whole of time,
> Shall with inhabitants again be fill'd."

I also find, that the manner in which Ira was taken was predicted by Bacis; and the following is a part of his predictions:

> "Those of Messene tamed through loud uproar,
> And fountains leaping with impetuous streams."

And that they found their mysteries, is asserted by certain persons of the family of the priests, as may be seen in their writings. But Epaminondas, as soon as the place, which is now the city of the Messenians, appeared to him adapted for the purpose, desired the prophets to learn whether the gods were willing that this should be the residence of the Messenians. And when the prophets

informed him that the victims were auspicious, he prepared every thing necessary for raising a city; ordered stones to be brought; and took care that men should be procured who were skilful in cutting out narrow passages, in building houses and temples, and in surrounding the city with walls. Afterwards, when every thing was properly finished (as the Arcadians brought victims to this place), Epaminondas, and all the Thebans, sacrificed to Bacchus and Ismenian Apollo, after the manner established by law; the Argives to Argive Juno and Nemean Jupiter; the Messenians to Jupiter Ithomatas and the Dioscuri; and the priests themselves to the mighty goddesses and Caucon. But they invoked the heroes in common to return and dwell with them, especially Messene the daughter of Triopas; afterwards Eurytus, Aphareus, and their sons; and of the posterity of Hercules, Cresphontes and Æpytus. But Aristomenes was recalled by all of them in the most eminent degree.

That day, therefore, was spent by them in sacrifices and prayers. But on the following days they raised the wall, and built within it houses and temples. And all this was accompanied with no other music than the Bœotian and Argive pipes: and the melody of Sacadas and Pronomos then first began to be mostly adopted. To the city itself, too, they gave the name of Messene, and rebuilt other small towns. But the Nauplienses were not ejected from Mothone; and the Asinæi were suffered to remain in their own dominions. For the Messenians called to mind the kindness of these people, in not consenting to war in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians against them. But as to the Nauplienses, the Messenians continually prayed for their prosperity, because they had enabled them by their gifts to return to Peloponnesus. The Messenians, therefore, came to Peloponnesus, and recovered their ancient prerogatives, two hundred and eighty-seven years after

the capture of Ira, when Dyscinetus was the Athenian archon, and in the third year of the one hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon the Thurian was a second time victor. It was not, therefore, by any means a short time, during which the Platæenses were exiled from their country; nor yet that in which the Delians inhabited Adramyttium, after they were driven from their own lands by the Athenians. And the Orchomenian Minyæ, indeed, who, after the battle at Leuctra, were driven by the Thebans from Orchomenus, were again brought back to Bœotia, together with the Platæenses, by Philip the son of Amyntas. But the Thebans, who were deprived of their city by Alexander, were, not many years after, restored to their country by Cassander the son of Antipater. It appears, however, that of the people we have just enumerated, the Platæenses were deprived of their country for the longest time; and yet this time did not exceed the space of two years. But the Messenians were exiled from Peloponnesus for nearly three hundred years; during which time they neither adopted the manners of foreign nations, nor changed their Doric dialect, but even to the present day have preserved its idiom the most accurately of all the Peloponnesians.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Messenians, after their return, were at first undisturbed by the Lacedæmonians, because the Lacedæmonians were restrained from any hostile attempts through fear of the Thebans of Messene, which was now restored, and of the Arcadians who were collected into one city. But as soon as the Phocensian war, which is called the Sacred War, drew the Thebans out of Peloponnesus, then

the Lacedæmonians were no longer able to resist the daring confidence which urged them to war on the Messenians. The Messenians, however, in conjunction with the Argives and Arcadians, opposed them, and demanded for this purpose the assistance of the Athenians: but the Athenians declared, that they would by no means enter into the Spartan dominions in conjunction with them in a hostile manner; but that, if the Lacedæmonians began the war upon Messene, they would not then be wanting to give the Messenians assistance. And in the end, the Messenians joined to themselves in the war Philip the son of Amyntas, and king of the Macedonians. This they assign as the reason why they did partake with the Greeks of that general engagement in Chæronea; at the same time that they were very far from ever intending to war upon the Greeks. But Alexander dying, and the Greeks a second time taking up arms against the Macedonians, the Messenians joined with them in the war, as we have already shown in our account of the Attic affairs.

The Messenians, however, did not fight in conjunction with the Greeks against the Galatæ, as they were unwilling to enter into a league with Cleonymus and the Lacedæmonians. But not long after the Messenians took Elis, through the wisdom of their plans, in conjunction with spirited attacks. For the Eleans were from the earliest times the most equitable of all the Peloponnesians; and Philip the son of Amyntas afflicting Greece with the calamities which we have before enumerated, corrupted the principal persons among the Eleans with his gifts; and by this means first caused the Eleans, as they report, to be involved in a civil war. But as soon as this was the case, and the Lacedæmonians had learned the condition of the affairs of the Eleans, they immediately prepared to send them assistance, as their allies; and in consequence

of this were busily employed in forming their troops into order, and dividing them into proper bands.

In the mean time, chosen forces of the Messenians, to the number of a thousand men, armed with Lacedæmonian shields, came to Elis; and as soon as the Eleans perceived the Spartan shields, they supposed that some of their allies were come to their assistance, and received the men within the walls. The Messenians, therefore, having gained the town after this manner, banished such of the inhabitants as adhered to the Spartan interest, and delivered the government of the city to those of their own party. The plan, indeed, which the Messenians adopted is a stratagem of Homer; for, in the Iliad, he represents Patroclus as invested with the arms of Achilles, and says, that the Barbarians thinking Achilles had returned to the fight, broke their ranks and fled. Other stratagems, too, besides this, may be found in Homer; as where two spies, instead of one, are sent from the Greeks in the night to the Trojans; and where a man under the appearance of an exile, but in reality a spy, comes to Troy to explore their secret designs. And besides these, where he represents such of the Trojans, as either through youth or old age were incapable of bearing arms, left in Troy to guard the walls, while those in the vigour of their age were armed against the Greeks. In the camps of the Greeks, too, he informs us, that such as were wounded retired from the field of battle, and, that they might not be unemployed, armed those whose forces were entire. And such are the universally beneficial examples which may be found in Homer.

CHAPTER XXIX.

But not long after the capture of Elis, the Macedonians, and Demetrius the son of Philip, and the grandson of Demetrius, subjected Messene to their dominion. And many, indeed, of the daring undertakings of Perseus against Philip and Demetrius we have related in our account of the Sicyonian affairs. But the manner in which Messene was taken was as follows: Philip laboured under a want of money, to procure which, as it was absolutely necessary for his affairs, he sent Demetrius with some ships to Peloponnesus. Demetrius, therefore, drove into a certain obscure port of the Argives, and from thence, by one of the shortest passages, led an army to Messene. Here placing all the light-armed troops which he then had with him in the front of the army, as he was not ignorant of the road to Ithome, towards morning he ascended the walls, which were situated between the city and the tower of Ithome. As soon as it was day, therefore, and the Messenians perceived their danger from the enemy being within their walls, they suspected at first that their city was taken by the Lacedæmonians; so that, in consequence of their ancient hatred of the Spartans, they rushed on the enemy with unbounded fury. But when, from their arms and the sound of their voice, they knew that they were Macedonians, and Demetrius the son of Philip was present, they were seized with a violent dread, as they considered with themselves that they should have to engage with Macedonians, men who had made war their particular study, and had been fortunate in all their undertakings.

At the same time, however, the magnitude of the present danger called forth their courage, enabled them to

exert themselves even beyond their strength, and caused them to hope for a prosperous issue of the present event. For they considered, that they had not returned, after so long an interval, to Peloponnesus without divine assistance. The Messenians, therefore, from the city rushed impetuously on the Macedonians, together with those that guarded the right hand part of the tower. In like manner, too, the Macedonians, from their courage and skill, defended themselves at first in the most strenuous manner; but afterwards, in consequence of being wearied with their journey, vigorously attacked by the Messenian troops, and assaulted by the very women, who threw upon them tiles and stones, they were compelled to fly without order. And a great part of them, indeed, were hurled headlong from the precipices (for Ithome in this part is remarkably steep); and a few only, throwing away their arms, were saved. But the Messenians, as it appears to me, did not join in council with the Achaians, because, as they had of their own accord assisted the Lacedæmonians in their war with Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, and were, in consequence of this kindness, at peace with them, they considered that they might excite the ancient hatred of the Lacedæmonians by assisting the council of the Achaians, who were the open enemies of the Spartans.

This, too, which is not concealed from me, was doubtless obvious to the Messenians, that though they should not aid the designs of the Achaians, yet the Achaians would of themselves be the enemies of the Lacedæmonians. For in the Achaian consultations the Argives and Arcadians did not form the smallest part. The Messenians, however, in time, joined themselves to the Achaians: and not long after, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, and the grandson of Cleonymus, took Megalopolis, a city of the Arcadians, and made with them a lasting truce. When this city was taken, all the inhabitants that were then

within the walls were cut off, but such as fled with Philopœmen the son of Craugis (for those that left Megalopolis are said to have fled in two parties), were received by the Messenians, as well in consequence of their ancient kindness during the time of Aristomenes, as that they might discharge the obligations which they were under to them afterwards, when Messene was restored. Human affairs, indeed, are subject to all-possible mutations: for a divine power caused the Messenians to be the saviours in their turn of the Arcadians; and, what is still more unlikely, permitted the Messenians to take Sparta. For when they fought with Cleomenes at Sellasia, after the battle, in conjunction with Aratus and the Achaians, they took Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians, however, being liberated by Cleomenes, the tyrant Machanidas began his reign; and he dying, Nabis possessed the sovereign authority. But as this prince not only seized on human property, but plundered temples themselves, in a short time he collected a prodigious sum of money, and with it furnished an army. When this Nabis seized on Messene, Philopœmen and the Megalopolitans were that very night within its walls, by which means the tyrant was compelled to depart under certain stipulated conditions. But the Achaians after this revolted from the Messenians, warred upon them with all their forces, and conquered many parts of their dominions. Not content, too, with these hostilities, they again invaded Messene during the time of harvest: but Dinocrates, who then presided over the commonwealth, and by the suffrages of the people commanded the army, seizing on the passages into Messene from Arcadia, frustrated the designs of Lycortas and his army; and meeting with the Messenians and their allies, forced him to retreat. The Messenians, too, conquered and took Philopœmen, who came with a few horse a long time after the army of Lycortas, and who had not heard whether the Messenians

were victors, or the contrary. But how Philopœmen was taken, and how he died, we shall hereafter relate in our account of the Arcadian affairs. Those Messenians, indeed, that occasioned his death were punished on this account; and the Messenians again contributed to the interest of the Achaians. And thus far I have described the various calamities of the Messenians, and how a divine power drove them from their own country, and far from Peloponnesus, and again brought them back to their paternal land. It now remains that my discourse should be directed to the country itself, and the cities which it contains.

CHAPTER XXX.

At the present time there is a city called Abia in Messene, which is near the sea, and is about twenty stadia distant from the grove Chœrius. They report, that this place was formerly called Ire, and is one of those seven cities which Agamemnon, according to Homer, promised to Achilles. But Hyllus and the Dorienses being vanquished in battle by the Achaians, they say, that Abia the nurse of Hyllus, the son of Hercules, migrated into Ire, and, having fixed his residence in this place, raised a temple to Hercules, under the name of Abia. They add, that Cresphontes afterwards, among other honours which he paid to this woman, changed the name of the city, and called it Abia. In this place there was an illustrious temple of Hercules and Æsculapius. Pharæ, too, is distant from Abia about eighty stadia; and there is salt-water in the road. Augustus Cæsar ranked the Messenians in Pharæ among those of a Laconic name. They likewise report, that Pharis, the son of Mercury, and Philodamea the daughter of Danaus, was the builder of this city, and that Pharis

had no male offspring, but had a daughter whose name was Telegone. Homer, in the Iliad, relates his descendants in the following order: that Diocles had two sons, Crethon and Ortilochus; and that Diocles himself descended from Ortilochus the son of Alpheus. He makes no mention, however, of Telegone; but, if we attend to the relation of the Messenians, she was the mother by Alpheus of Ortilochus.

This, too, I have heard in Pharæ, that besides these two sons, Diocles had a daughter, whose name was Anticlea; that from her, and Machaon the son of Æsculapius, Nicomachus and Gorgasus descended; that these dwelt at Pharis, and after the death of Diocles obtained the government. They believe even at present, that persons diseased, or mutilated in any part of their body, are healed by these two; and on this account they sacrifice to Nicomachus and Gorgasus in a temple, and consecrate to them sacred gifts. In Pharæ, too, there is a temple of Fortune, and an ancient statue. But Homer is the first I am acquainted with that mentions Fortune. For in his hymn to Ceres, where he enumerates the daughters of Ocean, and represents them as playing with Proserpine, he ranks Fortune or *Tyche* also among these daughters, as is evident from the following verses:

> "O'er Nysa's beauteous mead I sportive roved;
> These my companions; each a lovely maid!
> Leucippe, Phæno, and Electra fair,
> Ianthe, *Tyche*, and with blooming face
> Ocyroe,"———

He does not, however, assert any thing farther concerning her; as, that she is the greatest of the divinities in human affairs, and that she confers on mankind the greatest strength; as he does in the Iliad with respect to Minerva and Enyo, that they are the leaders of warriors; with respect to Diana, that she is dreadful to women in

labour; and with respect to Venus, that nuptials are the objects of her care. But Bupalus was very skilful in raising temples, and making the representations of animals; and was the first we know of that made a statue of Fortune for the Smyrnæans, having a pole on her head, and in one of her hands that which is called by the Greeks the horn of Amalthea. And in this manner did he evince the works of the goddess. But Pindar afterwards exhibited other particulars respecting Fortune, and called her Pherepolis, or *the Sustainer of cities.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

Not far from Pharæ there is a grove of Apollo, which is called Carneus, and in it a fountain of water. But Pharæ is distant from the sea about six stadia. On proceeding from hence to the most inland parts of Messene, at about the distance of eighty stadia, you will arrive at the city Thuriataræ. They report, that this city is called by Homer Anthea. But Augustus gave it to the Lacedæmonians in Sparta; for when he warred on Mark Antony, the Messenians with the other Greeks adhered to the party of Antony; but the Lacedæmonians were on the side of Augustus. Hence, Augustus being victor in this war, punished both the Messenians and others that opposed him, some in a lighter, and others in a more severe degree. But the Thuriatæ, who formerly dwelt on a lofty hill, descended into the plain, and there fixed their place of abode. They did not, however, entirely leave the upper city; for the ruins of the walls yet remain, and a temple, which is denominated the temple of the Syrian goddess. A river, too, called Aris, flows through the city in the plain. And in the most inland part there is a village

called Calamæ, and a place denominated Limnæ; in which last there is a temple of Limnatis Diana: and they report, that Teleclus, when he reigned over the Spartans, met with his death in this place.

On leaving Thuria, and directing your course as it were to Arcadia, you will see the fountains of the river Pamisus, whose waters cure the diseases of children. But on departing from these fountains to the distance of sixty stadia, on the left hand, you will see a city of the Messenians under Ithome. This city not only comprehends Ithome, but likewise those parts which lie under the mountain Eva, towards Pamisus. This mountain, from the noise of the Bacchæ, was called Euoe; and they report, that Bacchus himself, and the women that followed him, first made use of the exclamation Euoe in this place. But the wall which surrounds Messene is wholly built of stone; and towers and places of defence are raised upon it wherever it is necessary. The Babylonian walls, indeed, and those that are called Memnonian in Susa, I never saw, nor have I heard from any one that has seen them any particulars about them. But the cities which I have seen fortified with walls are in Ambrysos, Phocica, Byzantium, and Rhodes; yet these are not to be compared with the walls of Messene.

In the forum of the Messenians there is a statue of Jupiter the Saviour, and a fountain called Arsinoe, from the daughter of Leucippus. Water flows into this from a fountain which they call Clepsydra. There are likewise two temples here, one of Neptune, and the other of Venus; and, which deserves to be particularly mentioned, a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian stone, which was the work of Damaphon. This same Damaphon accurately joined together the statue of Jupiter in Olympia; and he is much honoured by the Eleans. That, too, which the Messenians call Laphria was made by Damaphon: and

they report that it came to be venerated on the following account: The Diana of the Calydonians (for they particularly venerate this goddess) is called Laphria; and the Messenians, at the time that they received Naupactus from the Athenians, bordered on the Ætolians. Then, indeed, the name Laphria was alone usurped by the Messenians, and the Patrenses from among the Achaians. But all cities call Diana Ephesia; and men privately honour this goddess beyond all the divinities. The cause of this, as it appears to me, is the renown of the Amazons, who, according to report, dedicated a statue to the goddess, and built this her most ancient temple. There are likewise three other particulars besides these, which contribute to her fame; the magnitude of the temple, which surpasses that of any other structure raised by human hands; the flourishing state of the city of the Ephesians; and the splendour of the goddess.

The Messenians also have a temple of Lucina, and a stone statue of this divinity. The temple of the Curetes is near this, in which they sacrifice all animals in a similar manner: for beginning with oxen and goats, they descend to birds, which they cast into the flames. They have likewise a holy temple of Ceres; and statues of the Dioscuri, forcibly taking away the daughters of Leucippus. Indeed, I have already related, that there is a dispute between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, concerning the place in which the Dioscuri were born. For the Messenians say, that they were born in their city. But the temple of Æsculapius, among the Messenians, contains the greatest number of statues, and the most worthy of inspection. For the statue of the god is separate from the statues of his offspring; and the statues of Apollo, the Muses, and Hercules, are separate from each other. They have, besides these, representations of the city of the Thebans, of Epaminondas the son of Polymnis, of Fortune, and light-

bearing Diana. Of these, such as are made of stone are the productions of Damaphon, who is the only artificer among the Messenians that deserves to be mentioned. The statue of Epaminondas is made of iron; and was the work of some other artist, and not of Damaphon. There is also a temple of Messene the daughter of Triopas, and a statue of gold and Parian stone. But there are pictures, in the back part of the temple, of all the Messenian kings prior to the military expedition of the Dorienses into Peloponnesus, viz. of Aphareus and his sons. Among those, too, that were celebrated after the return of the children of Hercules, Cresphontes is represented, who was one of the leaders of the Dorienses; but of those that dwelt in Pylus, Nestor, and his sons Thrasymedes and Antilochus; for these are honoured beyond all the children of Nestor, both on account of their age, and because they fought in the Trojan war. There is also a painting of Leucippus the brother of Aphareus, of Hilaria and Phœbe, and, together with these, of Arsinoe. And besides all these there is a picture of Æsculapius, who, according to the Messenians, was the son of Arsinoe, and of his sons Machaon and Podalirius, because these two engaged in the Trojan war. All these pictures were painted by Omphalion, the disciple of Nicias the son of Nicomedes; and, according to some, this Omphalion was the servant of Nicias, and at the same time the object of his love.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Again, the place which is called by the Messenians Hierothysion, or the temple of victims, contains the statues of all the gods which are worshipped by the Greeks, and a brazen image of Epaminondas. It contains likewise

brazen tripods, which Homer calls *destitute of fire*. But the statues of Mercury, Hercules, and Theseus, which are in the gymnasium, were made by certain Ægyptians: for all the Greeks, and many barbarous nations, have these in their gymnasia, and honour them in their places of wrestling. Among these statues, too, I find Æthidas, who was a man older than myself, and was honoured by the Messenians, as if he had been a hero, because he was remarkably rich. Some of the Messenians, however, though they acknowledge that Æthidas was very rich, yet deny that the statue which stands on a pillar is the statue of this Æthidas, but assert, that it is the representation of the ancestor of Æthidas, and who bore the same name. They further add, that this more ancient Æthidas was the general of the Messenians, when Demetrius the son of Philip suddenly and secretly entered Messene with an army. In the same gymnasium, too, there is a monument of Aristomenes, which, however, they say, is empty: and on my inquiring how the bones of Aristomenes were brought hither, they informed me, that they were brought to this tomb by the command of the Pythian deity; and besides this, they explained to me in what manner they sacrificed on his tomb, which is as follows:

The bull which is destined to the sacrifice is bound to a pillar not far from the sepulchre; and as he is fierce and unaccustomed to bonds, he endeavours to make his escape. While, therefore, he is struggling and leaping in order to effect his deliverance, if the pillar is moved by the agitation, the Messenians consider it as a prosperous omen: but if the pillar stands unmoved, they interpret it as portending them some calamity. They farther add, that Aristomenes, after he ceased to rank among men, was present at the battle of Leuctra, assisted the Thebans, and was the principal cause of the great loss which the Lacedæmonians received. I know, indeed, that the Chaldeans,

and Magi of the Indians, were the first that asserted the soul of man was immortal; and this opinion was embraced by some of the Greeks, and particularly by Plato the son of Ariston. And if all men were willing to admit this as a truth, it might very readily be believed, that the hatred of Aristomenes towards the Lacedæmonians would last for ever.

Indeed, what I once heard among the Thebans contains something probable respecting the Messenian affairs, though it does not entirely agree with what the Messenians relate. The Thebans therefore say, that when the battle at Leuctra was just commencing, they sent to consult, among other oracles, that which is given by the divinity in Lebadea. Hence the oracles are spoken of which were given at Ismenus, Ptous, Aba, and Delphos; and they report, that Trophonius spoke in the following hexameter verses:

> "Ere at the enemy you hurl your spear,
> A trophy raise, and here my shield adorn,
> Which Aristomenes, th' impetuous, fix'd
> Within the temple; for my power shall break
> The ranks of shield-defended, hostile men."

After this oracle was given, they say that Epaminondas entreated Xenocrates to send for the shield of Aristomenes, and that he would adorn a trophy with it, in a place where it might be beheld by the Lacedæmonians. Some of the Lacedæmonians, therefore, know that the shield of Aristomenes is fixed in Lebadea, as it has been seen by them when they were at peace with the Messenians; but all of them have heard that it is fixed in this place. But as soon as the Thebans were victorious, they restored to Trophonius the consecrated gifts. There is also a brazen statue of Aristomenes in the stadium of the Messenians: and not far from the theatre there is a temple of Serapis and Isis.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

On ascending to the top of the mountain Ithome, which is the tower of the Messenians, you will see the fountain Clepsydra. It would be endless, indeed, to enumerate all the people that affirm Jupiter was brought up among them. The Messenians, therefore, among others, lay claim to this honour, and report, that the nurses of Jupiter were Ithome and Neda; and that the river was denominated from Neda, and the mountain from Ithome. They further add, that these Nymphs having received Jupiter, who was secretly taken away by the Curetes through fear of his father Saturn, washed him in this fountain; and that the water was denominated from the theft of the Curetes. But the Messenians every day bring water from this fountain to the temple of Jupiter Ithomatas. The statue of Jupiter in this temple is the work of Ageladas, who made it at first for the Messenians that dwell in Naupactus. An annual priest keeps this at his own house: and the Messenians celebrate anniversary festivals, which they call Ithomæa. It may also be inferred from the verses of Eumelus, that in former times they instituted musical games: for the following are found among the supplicatory verses of Eumelus to Delos:

> "To Jove Ithomatas the muse is dear,
> Which joys in unpolluted, liberal song."

It appears, therefore, to me, that Eumelus made these verses, and that he knew the Messenians established musical contests.

Again, on proceeding from Arcadia to the great city, you will see in the gates a Mercury, the production of Attic art: for the figure of the Athenian Hermes is quad-

rangular; and other cities have learned this mode of representing Mercury from them. But the river Balyra is about thirty stadia distant from the gates; and they report, that the river was thus denominated because Thamyris, who was blind, lost his lyre in it. They add, that Thamyris was the son of Philammon, and the nymph Argiope who dwelt in Parnassus; that, when she was pregnant, she migrated to Odrysæ, because Philammon was not willing to marry her; and that from this circumstance Thamyris came to be called Odryse and Thraca. Two other rivers flow into this, Leucasia and Amphitus. After you have passed over these, there is a plain called Stenyclerus; and they say that there was a hero whose name was Stenyclerus. Opposite to this plain there is a grove, which was formerly called Oechalia, but at present Carnasius, and which is remarkably full of cypress trees. This grove contains a statue of Apollo Carneus, of Mercury carrying a ram, and of Proserpine the daughter of Ceres, who is called *the holy virgin.* Near this last statue water flows out of a fountain. The ceremonies, however, belonging to the great goddesses (for their mysteries are performed in Carnasium), I shall pass over in silence, on account of their arcane nature: for these mysteries are next to the Eleusinian for their venerable sanctity. But I am not restrained by a dream from informing the reader, that the brazen urn, which was found by an Argive general, contains the bones of Eurytus the son of Melaneus.

The river Charadrus, too, flows near Carnesium: and as you proceed on the left hand, at the distance of about eight stadia, you will see the ruins of Andania. Indeed, that the name of this city was derived from a woman called Andania is acknowledged by the interpreters; but I cannot tell from what parents she descended, or to whom she was married. On leaving Andania, and directing your course as if to Cyparissia, you will arrive at a small town called

Electra, through which a river of the same name, and another of the name of Coeus, flow. Perhaps the first of these names may be referred either to Electra the father of Atlas, and the second to Coeus the father of Latona; or perhaps they were assumed from the heroic natives, Electra and Coeus. But on departing from Electra you will see near a fountain called Achaia the ruins of the city Dorius. According to Homer, Thamyris lost his sight in this city, for boasting that he surpassed in singing the Muses themselves. But Prodicus Phocænsis (if he is the author of the verses on Minyas), writes, that Thamyris suffers in Hades for his arrogance towards the Muses. It appears, however, to me, that Thamyris lost his eyes through disease; and the same misfortune afterwards befel Homer, who, nevertheless, did not sink under his calamity, nor desist from poetical composition as long as he lived. But Thamyris was vanquished by his misfortune, and entirely neglected through it his poetical talents.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

From Messene, under the mouth of the river Pamisus, there is a road of eighty stadia in length. But Pamisus flows through the plowed land pure and limpid, and ships may sail through it from the sea to the distance of about ten stadia. Marine fishes, too, run into this river, especially during the vernal season of the year; and they are found to do the same in the Rhine and Mæander. But they swim in the greatest abundance in the river Achelous, in that part where it pours itself into the islands Echinadæ. The fish, however, which run into Pamisus very much differ in their form from those which are found in pure water, but at the same time they are not of a muddy

nature, like those of the other rivers we have mentioned. But chubs, as they are fishes that delight in mud, abound in more muddy rivers. The Grecian rivers, indeed, do not produce fishes destructive to man like the Indus, the Ægyptian Nile, the Rhine, Ister, Euphrates, and Phasis; for these nourish savage animals equal to the greatest devourers of men; but, in form, they are like the Glanides which dwell in Hermus and Mæander, though their colour is blacker and their strength greater. But Indus and the Nile breed crocodiles; and the Nile produces river-horses, which are not less destructive to mankind than crocodiles. There is nothing, however, to dread in the fish of the Grecian rivers: for the savage dogs which swim into the Lous through Thesprotis do not belong to the river, but come hither from the sea.

The city Corone, too, is on the left hand of Pamisus, is situated near the sea, and is under the mountain Temathia. Along this way there is a place by the sea, which they consider as sacred to Ino: for ascending in this part from the sea, they say, that she was considered as a goddess, and that she was called Leucothea instead of Ino. Proceeding not far from hence, you will see the river Bias pouring itself into the sea. It is reported, that this name was given to it from Bias the son of Amythaon. But the fountain of Plataniston is at the distance of about twenty stadia from this road; and the water flows from a broad plane-tree. This plane-tree is hollow within like a cavern, but the breadth of the tree is but small, and the water, which is fit for drinking, descends to Corone. This city was formerly called Æpea; but when the Messenians were restored to Peloponnesus by the Thebans, they report, that Epimelides, who was sent to build the city, called it Coronea, because he himself was born in Coronea, a Bœotian city. The Messenians, however, did not at first call the city properly, and the depravation of the name in-

creased with time. Another report likewise is circulated, that when the Messenians were digging in order to lay the foundations of the wall, they found a brazen crow. There are temples, too, in this place; one of Diana Paidotrophos, or the nurse of youth, another of Bacchus, and a third of Æsculapius. And the statues, indeed, of Æsculapius and Bacchus are made of stone; but the statue of Jupiter in the forum is of brass. There is also a brazen statue of Minerva in the tower. This statue stands in the open air, and holds a crow in its hand.

I have also seen the sepulchre of Epimelides; but I cannot tell why they call the port, the port of the Achaians. But on leaving Corone, at about the distance of eighty stadia, you will see a temple of Apollo near the sea, which is much honoured by the inhabitants: for, according to the Messenians, it is the most ancient of all their temples, and the god himself, whom they call Corynthus Apollo, heals diseases. The statue of this Apollo is made of wood; but the statue of the Apollo who is called Argeus is made of brass, and is said to have been dedicated by those that sailed in the ship Argo. The Colonides, too, border on the city of the Coronæi. The inhabitants of this place deny that they are Messenians, but assert, that they were brought hither from the Attic land by Colænus. They add, that Colænus, in consequence of the admonition of an oracle, followed a lark as his guide to this place; and that, in process of time, they assumed the Doric dialect and manners. The city Colonides is situated on an eminence at a small distance from the sea. But the Asinæi, who at first bordered on the Lycoritæ, dwelt about Parnassus. They were then called Dryopes, which name they preserved after their return to Peloponnesus, and which they derived from Dryops by whom they were colonized. But in the third generation after this, during the reign of Phylas, the Dryopes were vanquished in battle by Her-

cules, and devoted to Apollo in Delphos. However, by the command of the same god they were led back by Hercules to Peloponnesus, and at first inhabited Asine, which is near Hermione; but being expelled from thence by the Argives, they dwelt in Messenia, which was given to them by the Lacedæmonians.

The Messenians, indeed, when in the course of time they returned to Peloponnesus, did not subvert the city of these people. But the Asinæi acknowledge that they were vanquished by Hercules, and that their city in Parnassus was taken; but they deny that they were led captive to Apollo. On the contrary, they assert, that as soon as their walls were taken by Hercules, they left the city, and fled to the summits of Parnassus; and that afterwards passing over in their ships to Peloponnesus, they became the suppliants of Eurystheus, who, on account of his hatred to Hercules, gave them Asine in Argolis. But the name of Asinæi alone of all the race of the Dryopes, is at present venerable, having in this respect nothing similar to the Stryenses in Eubœa. For the Stryenses belonged at first to the Dryopes, who did not engage in the war against Hercules, as they dwelt beyond the walls of the city. The Stryenses, however, treat any one with contempt who calls them Dryopes: and this is the case with the Delphi when they are called Phocenses. On the contrary, the Asinæi are pleased in the highest degree when they are called Dryopes; and this is evinced by the most holy of their temples, which are constructed in memorial of those which they formerly possessed in Parnassus. For their temple of Apollo is built after this manner, and the temple of Dryops with its ancient statue. They celebrate, too, every year the mysteries of Dryops; and assert, that he was the son of Apollo. This city is situated near the sea (as was the case formerly with Asine in Argolis), and is about forty stadia distant from Colonides. A place, too, called

Acritas, is at the same distance from Asine. But Acritas extends itself to the sea, and there is a desert island before it, which is called Theganussa. After Acritas there is a port called Phœnicus, and near it is the island Oenussæ.

CHAPTER XXXV.

But Mothone, before an army was collected against Troy, and during the time of the Trojan war, was called Pedasus. Afterwards, however, as the Mothonæans report, it was called after the daughter of Oeneus. For, say they, Oeneus, who was the son of Porthaon, after the capture of Troy dwelt in Peloponnesus, and had a daughter from the harlot Mothone. It appears to me, however, that the place was denominated from the rock Mothon, as it is this which makes the port: for being concealed under the sea, and leaving a more contracted passage for ships, it at the same time affords them a defence by not suffering them to be injured by the raging billows from the profundities of the sea. But we have already shown, in the preceding part of this description, that the Lacedæmonians gave Mothone to the Nauplienses, who were expelled from their country for adhering to the Spartan interest when Damocratidas reigned in Argos; and that they received no injury from the return of the Messenians. But it appears to me, that the Nauplienses belonged to the more ancient Ægyptians, and that sailing together with Danaus to Argolis, three ages afterwards, they were colonized by Nauplius the son of Amymon, and that the colony was called Nauplia from its founder. The emperor Trajan, too, permitted the Mothonæans to dwell in the city which bears their name, with the possession of their freedom, and the use of their own laws.

Prior to this period, however the following misfortune alone befell the Mothonæans, of all the Messenians that dwell near the sea. The affairs of the Thesprotians were in a ruinous condition, through the want of a person endued with supreme authority: for Deidamia the daughter of Pyrrhus died without children; and as she was dying, she committed the administration of affairs to the people. But Pyrrhus the father of Deidamia was the son of Ptolemy, the grandson of Alexander, and the great grandson of the more ancient Pyrrhus. The particulars, however, respecting Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, we have already related in our account of the Athenian affairs. Procles the Carthaginian evinces, that this Pyrrhus was indeed inferior to Alexander the son of Philip, both in the advantages of fortune, and the splendour of his actions; but that he was superior to him in the disposition of his horse and foot, and in the invention of warlike stratagems. The vulgar of the Eperotes, as soon as they were freed from the restraint of government, began to be insolent in many respects, and despised the injunctions of the magistrates. In consequence of this anarchy, they were suddenly oppressed by the Illyrians that dwell near the Ionian sea: *for we do not know of any democracy, except that of the Athenians, that ever increased in strength and renown.* The Athenians, indeed, under this government obtained great reputation: for in their native sagacity they surpass the rest of the Greeks, and observe their laws with the most scrupulous exactness.

But the Illyrians, as soon as they had tasted the sweets of dominion, as they were a people perpetually desirous of increasing their empire, built ships, made depredations, just as it happened, and drove to the port of the Mothonæans under the pretext of friendship, and sent certain persons into the city, as if to fetch wine for their ships. When, therefore, wine was brought to them by a few of

the inhabitants, they paid the price it was estimated at by the Mothonæans, and the Mothonæans in their turn bought some of the merchandize of the Illyrians. On the following day, when a greater number descended to the port, the desire of gain was so increased, that both men and women in numerous bodies came to the ships to sell wine, and to buy things of the Barbarians: but then the Illyrians with daring impudence forcibly seized many of the men and women, placed them in their ships, sailed with their booty through the Ionian sea, and almost left the city of the Mothonæans desolate.

In Mothone there is a temple of Minerva Anemotis. They report, that the statue of the goddess was dedicated by Diomed, who also gave her this name. For this country was once greatly injured through winds more violent than usual: but they say, that in consequence of Diomed praying to Minerva, they were never afterwards afflicted with a similar calamity. There is also a temple of Diana here; and water in a well which is mixed with pitch, and resembles Cyzicenian ointment. Water, indeed, is capable of assuming every colour and smell; but the most azure of all the water I ever beheld is that in Thermopylæ; not indeed all the water, but only that which flows into the swimming-places, and which the inhabitants call *the earthen-pots of the women*. The country of the Hebrews, too, not far from the city Ioppa, affords a yellow water, which is perfectly similar to the colour of blood. This water is near the sea; and they report, that Perseus, when he slew the whale to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, washed himself from the blood in this fountain.

I have also seen black water in Astrya flowing from fountains. But there are hot baths in Astrya, which is opposite to Lesbos, and in that part of it which is called Atarneus. This place was given to the Chians by the

Medes, as a reward for delivering up to them a suppliant Lydian of the name of Pactyas. The Romans, too, above the city, and beyond the river Anius, exhibit water of a white colour. Whoever descends into this water, finds it at first so cold that it strikes him with horror, but after he has been in it for a short time, it grows hot like boiling water: and these waters, which are both admirable to the sight and salubrious to those that drink them, I have myself seen, and know to be such as I have described them. I know, indeed, of other waters, but as they are less wonderful, I omit to mention them. But it is by no means a very wonderful circumstance, to find water which is salt and bitter. There are likewise two different fountains, one in the plains of Cardias which are called White, and are near the village Dascylus, the water of which is hot, and is sweeter to drink than milk; but the other is mentioned by Herodotus as a fountain of bitter water, which runs into the river Hypanis. Is there any reason, therefore, why we should not admit the truth of the above relation, since even at present, in Dicæarchia, a city near the Tyrrhene sea, there is a water so hot, that in the course of a few years it melts the leaden pipes through which it flows?

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THERE is a road from Mothone to the promontory Coryphasium, which is about one hundred stadia in length. In this promontory Pylos is situated, which was built by Pylus the son of Cleson, who brought into it the Leleges from Megaris. His government, however, was but of short duration; for he was expelled by Peleus and the Pelasgi, who came from Iolcos. In consequence of this, departing to the neighbouring lands, he took possession

of Pylos in Elca. But Neleus during his reign raised Pylos to such a degree of dignity, that Homer, in the Iliad, calls the city from him Nelea. In this place there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Coryphasia, and a house which is said to be that of Nestor. There is a picture of Nestor in this house; and within the city his tomb is to be seen. The tomb, too, which is at a small distance from Pylos, is said to be that of Thrasymed. Within the city there is a cavern, in which they report the oxen of Nestor, and before him of Neleus, were kept. These oxen were of the Thessalian kind, and belonged to the flock of Iphiclus, the father of Protesilaus. They were demanded, too, by Neleus, as a sponsal gift from the suitors of his daughter: and Melampus, in order to gratify his brother Bias, came for the sake of these into Thessaly, bound Iphiclus, one of the shepherds, and received the oxen as a reward for the prophetic answers which he gave to the interrogations of Iphiclus. But the wealth, which at that time they were studious of acquiring, consisted in collecting herds of horses and oxen. Thus not only Neleus desired the oxen of Iphiclus, but Eurystheus also obtained permission of Hercules to drive away the herd of oxen belonging to Geryon, when he found that there were oxen of a beautiful species in Iberia.

It appears, too, that Eryx, who then reigned in Sicily, was so desirous of possessing the oxen driven from Erythea, that when he wrestled with Hercules, the oxen of Hercules were on one side proposed as a reward to the victor, and the kingdom of Eryx on the other side. Homer likewise relates in the Iliad, that Iphidamas the son of Antenor gave first of all among the sponsal presents, a hundred oxen to his father-in-law. All which confirms what I have said, that men of that time particularly delighted in oxen. But it appears to me, that the oxen of Neleus fed at a considerable distance from Pylos: for

almost all the Pylian land is very sandy, and therefore is not sufficiently adapted to the pasturage of cattle. Homer confirms my opinion when he makes mention of Nestor; for he always calls him the king of sandy Pylos. The island Sphacteria, too, projects before the port of Pylos, just in the same manner as Rhenea before the harbour of the Delians. It appears likewise, that places, which were before obscure and unknown, through the revolution of human affairs, have afterwards risen to fame. For Caphareus, a promontory of Eubœa, became ennobled, through Agamemnon with the Greeks being driven hither by a storm, as they were returning from Troy. And Psyttalia, a small island before Salamis, is only known from its being the place in which the Medes were almost entirely destroyed. In a similar manner, the destruction of the Lacedæmonians at Sphacteria, rendered the island universally known. The Athenians [illegible] dedicated a brazen statue of Victory in their tower, as a memorial of the battle at Sphacteria. But as you come to Cyparissia from Pylos, there is a fountain in the suburbs near the sea. They report, that this fountain sprung out of the earth in consequence of Bacchus striking the ground with his thyrsus: and on this account they call the fountain Dionysia. There is also in Cyparissia a temple of Apollo, and of Minerva who is called Cyparissia. But in Aulon there is a temple and statue of Æsculapius Aulonius: and near this the river Neda flows, between the borders of the Messenians and Eleans.

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITE[illegible]

00104739

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018